# 1968 WORKERS VANGUARD, correspondence & documents

#### League for Socialist Action-YS/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière-LJS

\*archival items listed for information, in other sections, or on file

#### 1968

1968-00-1	Pamphlet cover (undated) Czechoslovaks' Reply to Kremlin
1968-Jan12-1a	Letter to John and Phil
1968-Jan12-1b	attached: "List of material sent to Vancouver from CO"
1968-01Jan8	Alberta NDP debate (Dowson's contribution)
*1968-Jan8	Students plan anti-war strategy
*1968-Jan8	End Canada's Vietnam complicity – Sask NDP
*1968-Jan8	US guilty of genocide- Verdict of War Crimes Tribunal
1968-01Jan8-	Cross Country with the NDP – free speech fight
1968-01Jan22	Students protest firing of left-wing professor
*1968-01Jan22	US prepares new escalation of war
1968-02Feb5	Cross Country with the NDP
<b>1968-02Feb5</b> 1968-02Feb5	Cross Country with the NDP  End ICC role- Fienberg (ICC photo)
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1968-02Feb5	End ICC role- Fienberg (ICC photo)
1968-02Feb5 *1968-Feb19	End ICC role- Fienberg (ICC photo)  Only NDP can fight US economic control (RD)
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*1968-Mar4	Edit- Pearson's answer to 'Two, Three Vietnams'
1968-03Mar4	Let's tell the truth about women's rights- Montreal forums
1968-03Mar4	Cross Country with the NDP – ONDY, YS
1968-03Mar4	Big banquet hails Cuban Revolution (FPCC)
*1968-Mar4	Who owns Canada? Gordon's Task Force
1968-03Mar18	Ottawa march to protest war (SMC to lead)
1968-03Mar18	The Berlin march – European youth protest the war
*1968-Mar4	NDP must act on Vietnam
*1968-Mar18	Cross Country with the NDP – Viet war, Aid strikers
*1968-Mar18	Edit – Pax Americana – The Lesson of Vietnam
1968-03Mar18	Vancouver (Vanguard) Forums; Russell aide in Toronto
1968-03Mar18	ICC's role; Publications fund drive \$12,500 by May 1
1968-04Apr1	Challenge new PM on Vietnam- Stop arms sales
1968-Apr1	Edit- NDP Expose Cdn. Complicity
1968-04Apr1	OUR united Appeal – building the socialist press
1968-04Apr1	U of Alta students fight fees increases (YS role)
1968-04Apr1	Alberta NDP convention (left wing's role)
1968-04Apr18	Rally on April 27 against Viet War
1968-04Apr18	Special! 3-color Vietnam poster
1968-04Apr18	Ottawa restricts demonstrations
1968-04Apr18	What Lévesque really wants – 'Option Québec'
*1968-Apr18	LBJ retreats but the war goes on
*1968-Apr18	Edit- The renewal of NORAD
*1968-Apr18	Cross Country with NDP: anti-war resolutions

It's a war society (Vietnam) (by John Riddell)

\*1968-Apr18

1968-04Apr29	Vote NDP to power–Hands off Vietnam!
*1968-Apr29	Background to German (Berlin antiwar) events (on file)
*1968-Apr29	Edit- Vietnam and the (failure of the) CLC
1968-04Apr29	Anti-war action in Vancouver – West Berlin action
1968-04Apr29	Sentenced for his views (Pierre Vallière, neo-FLQ)
*1968-Apr29	Editorial: Vote NDP to power (in Ottawa)
1968-04Apr29	Cross country with the NDP: Van. Civic slate
1968-04Apr29	Let's go over the top! (Vanguard/LLO fund drive)
*1968-Apr29	LSA Pamphlet- 'Status of Women in Canada')
*1968-05May6	I.B. LSA/LSO Draft Political Resolution (PC)
1968-05May-21a	BC document: "Memorandum on NDP in Civic elections"
1968-05May27-a	(cover) IB Internal Bulletin - 1968
1968-05May27-1b	Some Developments in the NDP (Connolly)
1968-05May27-2a	Some criticisms of Political Revolution (A.Engler)
1968-05May99	Toronto Telegram photo: "The HappyPicketers" (anti-Salazar)
1968-05May13	Vote class, vote NDP!
1968-05May13	New socialist HQs in Quebec, Ottawa – 1000 subs goal
1968-05May13	B.C. NDP NDP marks time (Vietnam debated)
*1968-May13	Campaigning with the NDP (Vietnam war issue)
1968-05May13	Over the top! (Vanguard/LLO drive)- Cuba banquet
1968-05May13	Photo- Youth against war and pro-Che in Vancouver
1968-05May13	Cuba's progress marred by problems (J.Wilson)
*1968-May13	Vietnam cause not negotiable, marchers declare
*1968-May13	Anti-war moods in US army, speaker tells May Day
1968-05May27	French revolt shakes deGaulle regime

1968-05May27	Revolt in France – solidarity action in Toronto
1968-05May27	BC NDP wins in by-election, CLC delegates hail NDP
1968-05May27	Cops harass radical Montreal paper, Best response ever
1968-05May27	Discrimination against women protest at Status hearing
*1968-May27	Edit- Defeat the war parties! (only NDP anti-war
*1968-May27	'Vote against Vietnam war' (SMC conference)
1968-06juin29a	Ordre du jour de Congrès (LSO-LSA à Montréal)
1968-06juin29b	L'nternationale – The International
1968-06juin29c	Speech notes by RD to public rally "For a free Quebec""
1968-06Jun10-	France–Workers power–Eyewitness reports (on file)
1968-06Jun10	Photo: Million workers march in Paris
1968-06Jun	NovackLessons of the Revolutionary events
*1968-Jun10	Support French workers (IV International on file)
1968-06Jun10	NDP backs Que. Rights – Campaigning with the NDP
1968-06Jun10	Crisis in US anti-war group; SAEWV leader protests
1968-06Jun10	Legalize abortion- 'Status' demand – Red Power
1968-06Jun24	B.C. Petition seeks end to French repression
1968-06Jun24	Edit- Federal elections- Win, Lose, Draw, NDP votes win
*1968-Jun24	CNTU Montreal endorses NDP (on file)
1968-06Jun24	YS - 'Are you with the socialist youth of France?'
1968-06Jun	How Action Committees were formed (throughout France)
*1968-Jun24	Left groups vow to fight DeGaulle ban
*1968-Jun24	Fourth International—First Lessons of the Revolt (on file)
1968-06Jun24	Urge wider use of (birth control) pill- Rally for Medicare
*1968-Jun24	Students sit-in at SFU (BC) for broad reforms (on file)

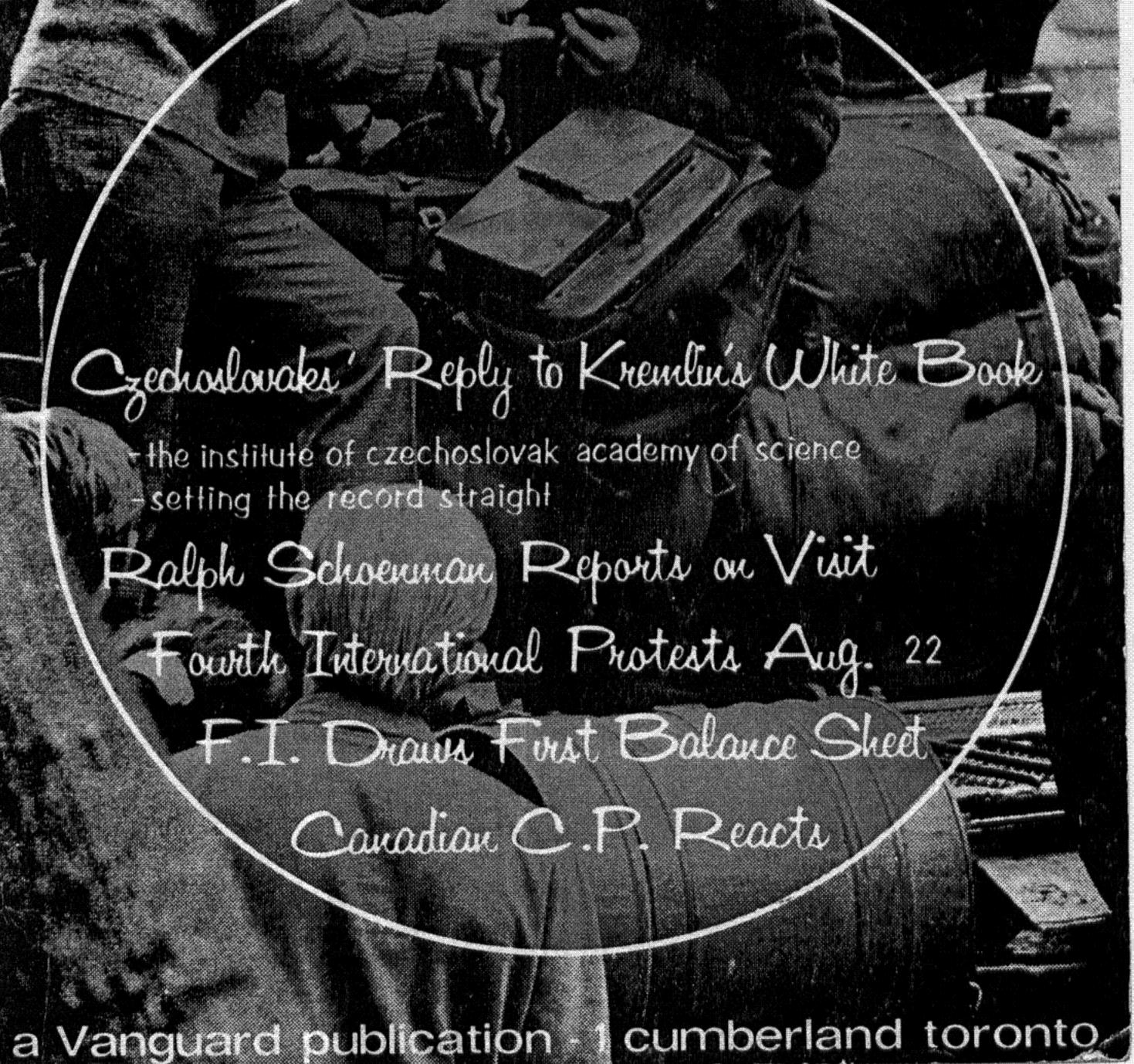
1968-06Jun24	Vanguard sub drive: On schedule!
*1968-July-00	Defense policies & principles of the SWP-USA 1936-1968
1968-07July10	Photo- Trudeau confronted by BC anti-war activists
*1968-July10	Trudeaumania wins (elections) NDP remains firm
*1968-July10	US talks peace, hots up war (see W16a antiwar)
*1968-July10	Big gains for LSA/LSO (bi-annual convention)
*1968-July10	Vive le Québec libre LSO/LSA rally theme
*1968-July10	Montreal police violence – 'Bludgeon Monday' (on file)
*1968-July10	Quebec workers sit in, bosses close plant (shipyard) (file)
1968-07July10	NDP, Unionists protest French ban on revolutionaries
1968-07July10	Sub drive all but over the top (87%)
1968-07July29	Hands off Czechoslovakia! Socialist democracy (on file)
1968-07July29	Toronto pickets defend socialist democracy
*1968-July29	Canadian troops train for Vietnam-style war
*1968-July29	Trotskyists play vital role in French revolt
1968-07July29	NDP must go left, critics tell Douglas- Vanguard tour
*1968-07July29	Which way forward for the NDP? Members discuss (W12)
1968-08Aug19	Socialist Caucus Report (election evaluation)
1968-08Aug12	Protests hit jailing of French youth leaders (Krivine)
*1968-08Aug12	Czechs push toward socialist democracy (on file)
*1968-08Aug12	Czechs publicize Trotskyist views
*1968-08Aug12	Czechs debate workers control (on file)
1968-08Aug12	Summer classes on socialism (LSA/YS)- Peace Rally
1968-08Aug12	YS debates The Campus Revolt (Toronto convention)
1968-08Aug12	Che's dairy subject of Toronto forum; Ontario tour

1968-08Aug26	Czechs resisting invasion-see Toronto pickets
1968-08Aug26-	Lewis assails NDP 'restraint' on Biafra
1968-08Aug26	French-only schools – struggle for survival (LLO)
*1968-Aug26	New French revolt predicted by J-PDubé (LSO) (on file)
*1968-Aug26	Maurice Spector 1898-1968 Pioneer Trotskyist
*1968-Aug26	At Hiroshima – 23 years after (on file)
*1968-Aug26	Peru, Bolivia, Brazil – struggles for liberation (on file)
1968-08Aug26	(Vanguard) Tour reaches Prairies
1968-09Sept9	Quebec Group aids jailed students (French leaders)
*1968-Sept9-	Soviet occupation meets stiff Czech resistance
*1968-Sept9	Withdraw US bases' – Sask. NDPers lead protest
*1968-Sept9	'This is no place for none of us'US-GIs in Vietnam (file)
1968-09Sept9	2Socialists begin tour of Prairie campuses
*1968-Sept9	CUS maps student (left union) program (on file)
*1968-Sept9	Castro's stand on Czechoslovakia (supports invasion)
1968-09Sept9	LJS launches new journal (Jeune Garde)
1968-09Sept9	The Labor Scene: Teamsters 938 bargaining
1968-09Sept9	Vancouver NDP split on City politics
*1968-Sept9-	Public housing and the NDP (John Riddell) (on file)
1968-09Sept23	Anti-war rally set for Oct. 26
1968-09Sept23	St-Leonard: victory for French-only schools
1968-09Sept23	Students win victory for unilingualism
1968-09Sept23	300 join Gagnon's hunger strike in jail
1968-09Sept23	YS expand activities - Trailblazers report on Calgary
*1968-Sept23	'US guilty of Genocide in Vietnam' - Tricontinental

*1968-Sept23	QUEBEC: The socialist viewpoint (4 pp LSA/LSO
*1968-Sept23	Campaigning with the NDP (Liberal MLA to NDP)
1968-10Oct7	NDP, students build Oct. 26 antiwar rally
*1968-Oct7	(In Liberal cabinet) Sharp supports Viet bombing
1968-10Oct7	(Despite Vancouver) NDP edging into city politics
1968-10Oct7	Campaigning with the NDP (debate on NDP aims)
1968-10Oct7	Trailblazer tour campus meetings-New HQ in Edmonton
*1968-Oct7	(Ernest) Mandel in Canada-Theory and action (on file)
*1968-Oct7	Mexican students clash with cops (file)
*1968-Oct7	Yugoslav students seeking socialist democracy (on file)
*1968-Oct7	Quebec (paper) workers occupy plant, expel guards (file)
1968-10Oct21	Que. NDP votes to go provincial – MPs endorse rally
*1968-Oct21	Students massacred in Mexico—obscured by press (file)
*1968-Oct21	'Withdraw US troops' growing demand: Oct.26 rally(16a)
*1968-Oct21	School sit-in jolts Quebec – students defy gov't (on file)
*1968-Oct21	End unjust tuition fees, students tell Trudeau (Regina) (file)
1968-Oct21	Trailblazers - best (Vanguard) tour ever - Che Memorial
*1968-Oct21	Ontario NDP leaders compete for left label (RD at W12)
1968-Oct21	The First anniversary: 'Che lives!' (Foreword Ross Dowson)
*1968-Oct21	Czechoslovakia- (fight for) socialist democracy (on file)
1968-11nov20a	LSO-LSA BI#2: Déclaration du C.P. (la Tendance Rands-Engler)
1968-11nov20b	de la Déclaration du CP sur la formation du TS
1968-11Nov4	(Toronto march photo) Thousands against Viet War
1968-11Nov4	Anti-war leader arrested – BC NDP-MLA speaks to rally
*1968-Nov4	Edit: New antiwar forces; Massive world protests

*1968-Nov4	Palestine (Al Fatah)-India-Mexico student massacre(on file)
1968-11Nov	The NDP leadership – where do candidates stand? (J.R.)
1968-11Nov4	Alta. Leaders are evading issues (NDP campaign- RD)
1968-11Nov4	Quebec student strike—Lessons and prospects
1968-11Nov4	Socialist student is by-election candidate (LJS)
*1968-Nov4	Inside the occupied schools – eyewitness reports (on file)
*1968-Nov4	Episodes in Quebec student revolt (occupations) (on file)
1968-11Nov18	Socialist student's election bid in Quebec (Michel Mill)
1968-11Nov18	Our program: universal accessibility by Helen Mack
*1968-Nov18	Mill seeks to debate opponent (Bagot by-election- on file)
1968-11Nov18	A radical program for the NDP - Socialist Caucus (RD)
1968-11Nov18	The case for nationalization
*1968-Nov18	Mexican students gunned down in the streets (on file)
*1968-Nov18	Edit- The War goes on (Johnson's 'halt' to bombing
*1968-Nov18	What use this Peace Confab? (for negotiations)
*1968-Nov18	BC Labor hits Vietnam war, defends Czech revolt (on file)
1968-11Nov18	COPE- The big illusion (Vancouver – NDP municipal)
1968-11Nov18	Students, unionists launch Hamilton Socialist Forum
*1968-Nov18	4 pages – and a pledge (La Lutte expands to a tabloid)
1968-12Dec2	Cops smash SFU sit-in; 114 students arrested 1968-
12Dec2-	Statement by Michel Mill; Socialist students rally 1968-
12Dec2	Socialist campaign in Quebec (Mill in Bagot riding)
1968-12Dec2	Interview with Mill: 'Why I am running'
1968-12Dec2	Priority to public ownership—Manitoba NDP
1968-12Dec2	Ontario NDP goes left – biggest convention ever
*1968-Dec2	Edit- Quebec- New stage in the student revolt

1968-12Dec16	Quebec socialists make big gains (LSO runs in Bagot)
1968-12Dec16	Campaign to defend arrested student (SFU)
*1968-Dec16	Edit- End the repression of student militants!(SFU)
1968-12Dec16	3PM moves to renew NATO ties
*1968-Dec16	Edit- Changes (to the left) in the NDP
*1968-Dec16	Blowup at peace rally ('Hemispheric' failure)
*1968-Dec16	Antiwar movement prepares next rally
1968-12Dec16	Socialist Students Conference –Toronto Dec.27-29
*1968-Dec16	Canadian labor in politics (Horowitz book review) (file)
1968-99a	Leaflet: The Vanguard Forum, Every Friday evening at 8 pm
1968-99b	Recent contributors: Austin Clarke, Hans Blumenfeld, etc.



#### Dear John and Phil

I am sneding under separate cover a package of material that John W has pulled from our files that will give you further insight into the phenomena that is Al Engler and Jean Rands. These are in about 99% of the case the only copy in existence ownter than in the glers file so you will have to take very good care of it and ret rn it all as soon as possible. It would be extremely unfortunate if any of it was lost. If we had the mone the best way would have been to xerox it.

I am not sending a lot of this material to you for reproduction -- some it you might consider quite personal and not suitable for publication. But I think it gives you insight as to what we have here. You have to decided you rselves what is useful for publication.

Mortunately I havent yet had a chance to read their document. I will do so within the next week and send you any comments I have.

Jacquelline Henderson is sending you an assortment of youth bulletins over the past period that contain contributions from Jean --- as you know Jean was calling upon us somewhile back to organize some allinclusive youth movement. I do not know if you have these bulletins -- at anyrate theny will be there in a day or so.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Engless views - The was inhibited exponent of heague x

This we never got!

1-39 enclosed Comradely The

# List of material sent to Vancouver from CO files, Jan/69.

34. PC statement on resignations, Sept. 10

38. letter from Wexafrazer to P.C., March 11.

37. letter from AE to RD, March 18

39. letter from AE to DF, March 8.

35. Copy of letter from Trailblazers to center, Sept. 22

36. Letter from center to branches and m/ls, Sept. 25

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1967
TI
  letter, RD to AE, Dec. 12
           AE to RD, Nov. 29
2.
           AE to JR. Oct. 9
3.
           AE to RD, Sept.20
     11
           RD to AE. Sept.14
5.
          JR to AE, Sept.13
6.
           Van EC to CCm Aug.
64.
           PC to Van EC, July 28. Concerning Miller-Frazer transfers.
7.
           Van EC to CC, July 23.
           AE to JR, May 30.
9.
           JR to AE, May 26.
10.
           AE to P.C., May 24.
11.
           AE to JR. May 9.
12.
XXXXXX
1966.
           AE to RD, Dec. 28.
13.
           RD to AE. Dec. 22.
14.
           AE to RD, Dec. 19.
15.
           AE to JB. Nov. 26.
16.
           JB to AE, Nov. 20 and ltr. from AE to JB Nov. 12 (stapled tgthr)
17.
           JB to AE, Nov. 10
18.
           AE to RD. Nov. 2
19.
           Statement by PC on Relations between CC and PC and related
20.
           material (dec. 66) mimeod.
   1967.
21. letter, JR to AE, May 5.
214 PC minutes, June 10.
          " . July 27.
23.
23. Ch. 8 ("Canadian Nationalism") from Who Owns Canada (mimeo'd
     originally for CC discussion, but withdrawn at AE's request.)
24. Copy of letter from Miller (AE) to Kent, Aug. 2.
                      " Frazer to PU, Aug. ?
 25.
      letter from AE to P.C., Aug. 8
 26.
           from RD to AE, Aug. 9.
 27.
      Copy of letter to Frazer from Kent for PC, Aug. 13
 28.
                     from Miller to the PC, Aug. 16.
 29.
     1968.
 30. letter, from AE to RD, Feb. 24.
 31. PC minutes and appendix, July 18.
 32. Statement of Vanc. Branch on resignations, Sept. 15
 33. letter (copy) from AE to Courtney re resignations, Sept. 8
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# Alberta NDP Debate 4140-2011.1968

by Ross Dowson

Something really new, really important, is taking place in the Alberta New Democratic Party, specifically in the pages of its official organ, The Democrat.

In the November issue the editors write that the paper's new character signifies a change in "orientation . . . from a homey newsletter featuring very little of a political nature (that's an accurate description of the Ontario and B.C. NDP press-editor), to a party instrument capable of articulating opinion on important issues."

They see as "the primary function of the Democrat . . . the raising of discussion of issues which are of central concern to the party's development as a political force in Alberta."

#### No Holds Barred

They lay down no limits, every question is open for discussion.

"It is no idle claim to state that we must settle our own image as a political party, first, before we can convince the public. This is not a demand for an ironclad party manifesto, but it is a demand for a discussion of first principles - principles which are inherently linked to the party's policy making and program tactics, and eventually to our public image as a political party."

And the discussion is wide open - any one may participate. "All points of view will be given equal space," say the editors.

Of course this discussion is not unfolding without opposition in the party. The provincial leader himself. Neil Reimer, headed off his column in the November issue with a snide comment "that this paper has been very kind to the point of view of 'what went wrong!' in the last election by various people. The world is full of arm-chair quarterbacks who have never been at a football game - and if they have, never played it."

In his December column Reimer takes another dig at those who want to discuss international affairs. "Of course it is important," he says, "but the citizens of Spain, USA, USSR, Cuba, China, or even England, do not vote in a Canadian election." Apparently oblivious of the need to have a correct world outlook in order to develop a correct domestic policy, Reimer, with arrogant condescension, complains that the peoples of those countries "will not take much of a lead from

us if we cannot keep our own house united and in order."

Then of course, as we have regretfully come to expect there are the usual red-baiting attempts to frustrate the entire discussion. The November issue contained a lengthy contribution which, for unexplained reasons, appeared anonymously, with only the initials attached, "n.b."

"Endorse a Dowson (leading NDYers endorsed the League for Socialist Action's projected candidate in the Colchester-Hants by-election - editor) or associate yourself with 'solidarity causes' and 'revolutionary movements'(Vietnam? OLAS? Hugo Blanco? Che? -editor) as you have recently done - and you do far more than merely hurt party discipline and party cohesiveness," n.b. cries. "You undermine what the NDP in Canada - and serious, devoted socialists the world over - have worked so hard and so long to build up."

Fortunately the editors have not been diverted either by redbaiting or by the attacks on personalities that are appearing with increased frequency. The discussion, so crucial to the future development of the movement, is continuing to unfold.

#### Serious Level

There have been a considerable number of contributions of a serious character. In our Nov. 27 issue we quoted at some length an analysis of the NDP federal convention by NDY federal president, Ken Novakowski. He urges an end to the "drive towards moderation and electoral acceptability, and calls upon the party to "stand for Socialism and a Socialist Canada." In our Dec. 11 issue we quoted at length a contribution from Alberta NDP vice-president Norman Dolman who stresses the need for the party to take a clear stand for public ownership of the basic industries. Since then Dolman has announced that he will run for president of the Alberta section at the next convention. Former executive member John Burke had two notable articles in the October and November issues of the paper. NDY provincial executive member Gordon Drever, and Gary Allen, with perhaps the best contribution, have added to the discussion.

#### Inconsistent

As is inevitable, these individual contributions, all of which flow from a clear understanding that the party must break from its liberal-

reformist course and take a socialist direction, have been quite uneven in their value. There are even some serious errors that are being repeated, such as objection to the party running a full slate of candidates instead of concentrating on one or two seats. Grant Notley is unchallengeably correct on this

It is apparent, even from what has already been published, that the left, concentrated largely in the youth, has not really worked out a common program, not to speak of strategy, so that it can best take advantage of this opportunity to present the socialist alternative to the Alberta membership and the NDP rank and file across the country.

Not only can the liberal-reformist leadership of the party make mincemeat of the left before the membership, should irresponsible statements showing contempt for the party and suggesting disaffiliation continue to be expressed, but these tendencies disorient the left itself.

#### Need for Program

There must be common agreement that even on an Alberta scale and certainly on a Canada-wide scale the NDP is a mass labor party formation, firmly rooted in the unions, the primary class organization of the workers, that it represents a massive break on the part of what are already the decisive sectors of the working class from capitalist politics in the direction of establishing working class rule in this country.

It is here for the next whole period that the struggle for leadership of the class is destined to unfold.

The left must work out its own ideas and it must present them in a clear and consistent manner. It should intervene with a series of well-worked out basic educational articles.

Instead of merely injecting the challenge of public ownership into the discussion it should make the case for it. It should show how the major crimes and disorders of our time flow from the capitalist system, are rooted in private ownership of the means of production and capitalist appropriation of the social

The internationalism of the left must develop not only from a sense of the most profound solidarity with the struggles of oppressed every-



where, but from the knowledge that today world politics have a decisive impact on national politics. An anticapitalist policy on the home front requires an anti-imperialist foreign policy.

#### Challenge

There must be an end to revolutionary phrasemongering and the development of a serious discussion as to how the working class are going to come to power in this country, how the gap between the existing consciousness of the working class, as yet quite low, can be raised to meet the revolutionary challenge of our time.

This discussion in the left is necessary in order to give it a cohesiveness, to minimize certain centrifugal forces - and at the same time to give it the greatest possibility of having a real impact on all those listening in to the discussion - and so help win the NDP to socialism.



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Set by Union Labor. Set by Union Labor.

# Cross Country With the NDP

#### Britain's Labor Government

Taking issue with opponents of the NDP who point to the state of the British economy to demonstrate that socialism doesn't work, Charles Biesick, associate editor of the Prairie NDP's Commonwealth em-phasizes that the Labor Government is not socialist. In the Dec. 13 issue, he argues that the difficulties the government now faces in trying to administer a capitalist economy in no way invalidate socialist ideas. On the contrary, he says, "the Labor government in Britain proves — if further proof were needed — that a Labor government or a gov-ernment bearing the label "Socialist" cannot administer capitalism any better than a conservative government." To those who suggest that socialism is not the alternative to the "crisis-plagued capitalist world," he replies that no one has come up with a better alternative and that socialism is still the only road for Britain.

#### Confrontations

After a silence of some years duration, the federal office of the New Democratic Youth has just published the first issue of Confrontations, its new 8-page bimonthly youth newspaper. With an attractive presentation, it carries a socialist-oriented editorial policy, and is directed toward the newly radicalizing youth in the student, anti-war and labor movements. In introductory editorial, Harry Edel explains that Confrontations is a "reflection of the internal contra-dictions of Western neo-capitalist society, contradictions which are becoming increasingly more apparent." He goes on to describe the imperialist nature of capitalism, its imprisonment of the individual in corporate chains, the resulting disaffection of the youth which will destroy the system, and ends: ". . . we will provide a concrete analysis of our society and suggest ideas on how we can transform it qualitatively."

Much of this first issue deals with the "student power" movement, ad-

vocating a politically-oriented dent syndicalist movement intervening actively on such issues as the Vietnam war. An article by Stan Grey on the Dosco closure poses nationalisation of the industry as the alternative to repeated subsidization of private enterprise.

Confrontations is intended for distribution to NDY members and youth circles, and can be obtained through the NDY at 301 Metcalfe

St., Ottawa 4, Ont.

#### Free Speech Fight

New Democrats, anti-war activists and unionists joined forces recently in Toronto to block an attempt by the Board of Control to abolish free speech in Nathan Phillips Square, the civic square which surrounds the new city hall. The square has become a popular gathering place for Toronto working people and a centre for public speaking, protests and demonstrations by the labor and anti-war movements.

The leaflet advertising the Dec. 16 civic square protest rally explained that the by-law would make public speaking and demonstrations in the square illegal unless a special permit was granted - which could be withheld if the meeting was felt to be "adverse to the public inter-

est."

Speakers at the rally, which attracted almost 100 people, included Wally Ross, director of organization of the Ontario New Democratic Party; Gerry Gallagher of the International Laborers Union, local 183; Lukin Robinson of the Toronto Association for Peace; Mrs. Val Sears of the Voice of Women; and Ken Warren from the Canada/ Vietnam Newsletter.

Two days before the rally, the High Park NDP association sent a letter to City Council protesting the

by-law.

In face of the opposition generated inside and outside the Council. the by-law was sent back to the Board of Control. It will return to the Council in the new year for further discussion.

by J. Connolly

# Students Protest Firing Of Left-Wing Professor

by J. Connolly

A former editor and contributor to the Socialist Caucus Bulletin, a publication of socialists within the New Democratic Party, has been dismissed from the staff of Waterloo Lutheran University.

Dr. George Haggar, a Lebanese-



Dr. George Haggar

born professor of political philosophy and Canadian government at the university, is the militant president of the Canadian Arab Community, an organization with 3,000 members in Ontario which has consistently identified Israel as the aggressor in the Mid-East war last June. Haggar and Gray Taylor, a part-time psychology lecturer, were refused contract renewals on the grounds, according to the administration, that they are "not happy" with the "philosophy" and "operation" of the university.

Haggar and Taylor have both been active in the movement against the war in Vietnam.

Haggar, who has protested his dismissal to the Canadian Association of University Teachers as a violation of academic freedom, has won strong support among the students. The campus paper, The Cord, devoted an entire edition to the affair. A mass boycott of classes is being planned.

Students in the University of Toronto ad hoc Committee on Campus Complicity are also planning a protest demonstration.

New Democrats are urged to demand the reinstatement of Haggar and Taylor through their constituency associations and councils.

# CROSS COUNTRY WITH THE NDP

#### Quebec NDP

The Quebec New Democratic Party is now thinking of political action on the provincial level, according to a report in the Jan, 17 Le Devoir.

The Montreal daily reports that the federal candidate in Laval, Mr. Donald Boyle, told his association's annual meeting that the province no longer has a left-wing party which is not "independentist." He says "a neo-Duplessisme is developing in the Union Nationale, with the recruitment of big businessmen like Marcel Faribault (head of Trust Général), while the successive departures from the Liberal party of René Lévesque and Eric Kierans leave little hope for the progressive forces."

#### Colchester-Hants

A reply by federal NDP officials to criticism by the Toronto High Park NDP association of the party's failure to enter an official candidate against Tory leader Robert Stanfield in the Nov. 6 Colchester-Hants by-election, claimed the decision was taken by the Colchester association, and that the federal office had no wish to interfere.

However, Sudbury New Democrat Elwood Smith, who ran as an independent against Stanfield, tells a different story. Mr. Smith entered the race after the League for Socialist Action nominated Ross Dowson to present the labor alternative in the face of the declared abstention by the NDP federal office. Dowson withdrew at the last minute in favor of Smith, who gained the local NDP support.

Smith received considerable press publicity when he lodged a complaint with the Chief Electoral Officer in Ottawa on Nov. 2 stating that he and the Liberal candidate had been offered bribes to withdraw.

But it has just recently been brought to the Vanguard's attention that in another unpublicized letter to the same official on the day previous, Nov. 1, Smith sought to disqualify the election on the grounds that "there may have been mutual agreement between the leaders of our three national parties" not to field candidates against Stanfield.

The letter pointed out that on Sept. 12, T. C. Douglas said the NDP would offer no opposition, and that on Sept. 16 Dr. Aitchison announced the provincial organization would abide by the decision of the federal leader. But the Colchester NDP association did not hold a meeting to discuss the question until Sept. 17.

"The right of the citizen to vote for the man or party of his choice has been denied in this election by the action of the prime minister and the national leader of the New Democratic Party." Smith declared.

He requested "that an inquiry be called to investigate the influence used by the federal Liberal and New Democratic parties in keeping opposition candidates out of the Nov. 6 Colchester-Hants by-election." He also requested the electoral officer set a new date, to allow the constituency associations to "hold nomination meetings without interference from their federal office." Apparently, both requests were either refused or ignored by the officials.

Mr. Smith ran a modest campaign, receiving a small number of votes.

In an ironic footnote to the whole affair, Dr. Aitchison apologizes in the Jan. 17 Cape Breton Highlander for the failure of the NDP to contest the current Colchester provincial by-election. "But the decision," the NDP leader says, "was made, as it should be, by the Colchester

association of the party and I do not doubt that it is the right one."

#### Locked-out

Despite the implicit denial of the class struggle in the present NDP program, Waterloo South NDP/MP Max Saltsman is finding that it does exist - only from the wrong side of the fence. Mr. Saltsman, one of the small businessmen cultivated by the NDP leadership, owns three drycleaning plants in Galt, Ontario. When his employees, members of Retail Clerks International Union, recently voted to strike if necessary to win pay demands, Saltsman responded by closing down one of the three shops and laying off three women workers to show that "we're prepared to fight." The union calls this intimidation and intends to file a complaint of unfair labor practices with the provincial Labor Department.

The current wage scale for the forty employees begins at \$1.10 and goes to slightly more. The union cites an old election statement by Saltsman: "Workers cannot live on less than \$1.75 an hour in today's society." Saltsman has offered \$1.25 to \$1.45 an hour and wants to withdraw the present practice of free cleaning privileges which the workers say will cancel out the pay increases.

Saltsman was one of the authors of the economic resolution passed at the last federal NDP convention which was touted as the solution to Canada's economic problems but in fact further deepened the NDP's reformism. Although this isn't the issue in the strike, it seems pretty clear that his workers don't go for Mr. Saltsman's approach to solving their own immediate economic problems.

J. Connolly

# End ICC Role - Feinberg

Canada's role in the International Control Commission should be abolished, says Rabbi Abraham Feinberg. The well-known peace activist told a group of students at McGill University on Jan. 22 that Canadian participation in the ICC is "fat, flabby and futile."

Referring to his visit to north Vietnam last year, Rabbi Feinberg said the Canadian ICC team was generally regarded as pro-American and remote from the Vietnamese people.

"The Canadian members seemed to me to have an Anglo-Saxon superiority complex in their attitude to the Vietnamese and to colored races in general."

The rabbi said the Canadian contingent acts in defense of the U.S. position and works to "shore up" the U.S. argument for intervention.

The ICC was set up in 1954 to report violations of the Geneva Accords, which prohibited foreign military bases in Vietnam. The United States now has over 115 such bases in south Vietnam, and during the last four years has thrown over 500,-000 troops into the country. Yet, when External Affairs Minister Martin was asked by a member of the audience at a Toronto Liberal meeting Jan. 25 what Canada had done to report this violation of the Accords, he could only refer to a majority ICC report of 1962 which "blamed both sides."



THE EVIDENCE. Canadian and Indian officers on the International Control Commission examine charred body of Vietnamese civilian burned to death by U.S. napalm. Despite overwhelming evidence, the Canadian ICC delegation has never reported, let alone protested, American atrocities and aggression in Vietnam.

# Wide Range of Topics At Friday Night Forums

by R. Brock

The Friday night Vanguard Forum is where the action is in Toronto. Recent forums have drawn unprecedented attendance — and a look at the wide-open range of topics shows why.

The Feb. 2 Forum featured Paul Boutelle, Afro-American candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for vice president of the United States.

# LSA Protests To Marchand

In a letter to Immigration Minister Jean Marchand, the executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Ross Dowson, has protested the detainment and interrogation of Black Power spokesman Paul Boutelle by immigration officials at the Montreal airport on Jan. 30. Boutelle, who is the U.S. Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice president in 1968, was seeking to enter Canada on a speaking tour of several cities. His tour was sponsored by the LSA/LSO.

Boutelle was questioned for an hour and a half as to where he was speaking and when and where he would be staying. A young Canadian citizen who met him at the airport was also intensely interrogated. He was finally granted a 24 hour visa, with possible extensions which he, in fact, obtained.

Pointing to the obvious political implications of this action by government officials, Dowson asks for a repudiation of them by the minister, and an affirmation from him "that Canadian immigration officials are not permitted to discriminate against visitors from the U.S. for their political and social beliefs."

A Toronto meeting of 125 persons who heard Boutelle speak, enthusiastically endorsed the protest.

So far, Mr. Marchand has not replied. But on Feb. 14, Boutelle was again grilled by Canadian immigration authorities, this time at Vancouver, as he began a two-day speaking tour in that area.

Over 120 persons filled the Carpenters' Hall to hear Boutelle speak on Black Power and the '68 Presidential Elections. The question period following his talk went on for over an hour. CTV filmed his presentation.

Boutelle also addressed several high school and university student audiences. At York University, 300 students — about 15 percent of the student body — turned out to hear him.

Another recent forum took the form of a panel discussion on How to End Ottawa's Complicity in Vietnam, featuring Joe Young, president of the cross-Canada Student Association to End the War in Vietnam, Hans Blumenfeld, world-renowned city planner and local peace activist, and U of Toronto professor Chandler Davis, a prominent pacifist.

Also in January, the president of the University of Toronto Students Administrative Council, Tom Faulkner, addressed the Forum on Student Power and the Purpose of the University. Faulkner was recently re-elected SAC president on a program of opposition to the Vietnam war.

In December, the Forum sponsored a visit to Toronto by Robert Langston, an American Marxist economist. Langston debated two local professors on the relevance of Karl Marx's Capital today, one hundred years after its publication. The League for Socialist Action also held an all-day economics seminar with Langston, based on Ernest Mandel's Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory. Langston spoke to the Vanguard Forum last September on the subject, Is the USSR Going Capitalist?

Among other recent speakers at the popular weekly forums is Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA, who spoke on Canadian Trade Unions Today, commenting critically on two books which have been reviewed in the Vanguard, Charles Lipton's The Trade Union Movement of Canada and Paul Phillips' No Power Greater.

The Toronto Forums are held every Friday night at 8 p.m. at 1 Cumberland Street (Yonge & Bloor). A question's and discussion period follows each talk.

# VANGUARD #143-Feb 1968

# Que. NDP Council Weighs Prov. Action

by G. Dufer

Montreal, Feb 13-As reported in the Feb. 5 Vanguard, the New Democratic Party of Ouebec is seriously considering an entry into the arena of provincial politics. This marks a big change in its previous attitude of complete abstention, a position which was not even debated at the convention of last summer.

To date several riding associations and party publications have carried discussions friendly to the idea of provincial action, as preparation for the provincial council meeting of Feb. 11, which was requested by the provincial executive in order to debate the question. The council meeting, after considerable discussion, has authorized the formation of a special committee to investigate the possibilities of provincial action, particularly from the point of view of collaborating with the trade union, farm, and student movements as well as with interested radically-minded individuals. This very positive development has received widespread coverage in the mass media and leaves the party

pressured to carry out its nowpublic decision.

Why has this big change in approach occured at the level of the provincial leadership? It is no secret that the NDP as well as the other political movements in Ouebec view with increasing consternation the developments around the movement launched by René Lévesque. Sales of Lévesque's Option Ouébec, soon to appear in English, are approaching the 60,000 mark. While mostof the copies have no doubt found their way into comfortable middle class libraries; there have been some indications of working class interest Lévesque. Warm receptions greeted the breakaway Liberal at union meetings in Sept-Iles and Trois-Rivières only recently, and the leadership of the trade union movement, announcing their upcoming confab with Lévesque, pointed to the interest in his movement they found among their ranks.

While it would be incorrect to claim that Lévesque has any broad base of working class support at the

(See page 4)

# Quebec NDP

(continued from page 1)

moment, the leadership of the NDP and of the trade union movement are well aware of the possible result of a demagogically radical program presented by Lévesque, in a situation where Ouebec workers have no other alternative at the polls.

Nor are, the workers alone in groping for some political instrument on the Quebec level. The trade union leadership is now well into bargaining for the 1968 contracts of the provincial civil servants and teachers. In both public service sectors, massive strikes might take place against the Union Nationale government, and the trade unions, to put it simply, will have no spokesman in the legislature. Obviously the Union Nationale is excluded and the long tradition of a "friendly" Liberal party is not holding much water since the departure of the so-called "leftists" Lévesque and Kierans. It is not surprising therefore to recall that the recent convention of the Quebec Federation of Labor called for the formation of a new provincial labor party in Ouebec.

These sentiments were quite clearly reflected at the provincial council meeting of the NDP referred to above. It was unanimously agreed that provincial action was urgent, that Lévesque posed some threat and that the party could no longer continue to maneuver between the Union Nationale and the Liberals. A majority of the delegates felt that the NDP should not have a monopoly on the party, in fact that the provincial party need not even bear the NDP label, and that the broad labor and progres-

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Robert Cliche Ouebec NDP Leader

sive forces should convene in a founding convention.

It would be mistaken to simply laud this council meeting, which was marked by great confusion and opportunism. The leadership hesitates to specify the character of the provincial party necessary-clearly, one based on the labor movement -and instead proposes a broad popular front concept adopted to the views of even some dissident provincial Liberals. Instead of arguing the necessity for a principled labor alternative at the polls no matter what the immediate chances for its electoral success, the leadership refused to commit itself unequivocally to provincial action, hiding behind sophistries like the necessity for "timing," the danger of "appearing English" etc. Indeed the whole atmosphere at the meeting was one of indecision and lack of confidence in the present party, and in the outcome of a provincial party.

It is no exaggeration to state that the NPD-Québec is now in à crisis If it continues to remain federal, leaving untouched the crucial provincial areas of labor, health, and education, it will remain in its present state - the shell of a Quebec labor party. If it moves unequivocally into the provincial arena to launch a mass party it will enter the ferment of French Canadian politics. Ouebec can hope to see more than minor reforms if the French Canadian working class has a serious political instrument at its

disposal.

# **New Protests Over Vietnam**

# VANGUARD

### Taxes Bug You? -Here's Why

"There would be a revolution in this country!" charges New Demo-cratic Party leader T. C. Douglas, cratic Party if every worker knew the real facts of how he is being robbed by the present tax system.

What else but robbery is it when the government imposes a five per-cent surcharge on income taxes without asking anyone's permission, and then specifically exempts the rich from paying it? What else but

rich from paying it? What else but robbery when this new tax is defeated in parliament, and they still go on taking it out of our pockets? Yet income tax is only the small change of the tax system — less than a fifth of the total taken from the average worker, For a family with a typical income of \$5200 a year. Idal Laxes now amount or year, total taxes now amount to \$1626 a year — over 30% of total nd \$400 more for this in-

The operation of the stystem is quite simple. The highest taxes are on everyday goods and services that on everyday goods and services that every worker buys. There is no property tax on yachts or private airplanes, but we all pay 5 to 10 percent every year on the assessed value of our house or apartment. The taxman doesn't bother you if you travel by jet airplane, but if you drive a car he takes a fifth the cost of the car and a third the cost of the gasoline. There are no special taxes on diamond necklaces, thoroughbred race-horses or solid gold water faucets, but taxes are almost half the cost of cigarettes and beer.

Has your boss been moaning that come tax is taking half his income of \$100,000 a year? Ask him why he pays no tax on the tens of thou-sands he makes in land speculation or in playing the stock market. Ask (See page 3)

#### April Actions Against War

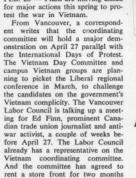
March 3 - The March 2 Action Conference in Toronto voted almost unanimously to center the spring anti-war action in Ontario and Quebec around the Liberal Party leadership convention in Ottawa April 6. Aim of the Ottawa demonstration will be to focus public attention on the complicity of the Liberal government with American policy in Vietnam.

The 200 participants in the conference came from all the major anti-war groups in Montreal, Ottawa, and southern Ontario. They also voted to hold an action around the April 27 International Day of Protest. FEB. 28 — Plans are moving ahead for major actions this spring to pro-

the International Days of Protest. Vietnam coordinating committee. And the committee has agreed to rent a store front for two months prior to the demonstration to be used as a rally and work center.

In Toronto, the anti-war move-ment has called an all-day "Con-ference for Acton Against the War in Vietnam" on March 2 to plan (in the words of its printed call) "a massive spring action to consolidate anti-war opinion and articulate the demand for the withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam and an end to Canadian complicity." Among the featured speakers are

a Vietnam veteran and Gerry Gal-lagher, head of the Laborers' Union.



# IN VIETNAM. This GI expresses the common wish of all American

soldiers in Vietnam. Or, as the anti-war movement back home puts it: "Support Our Boys in Vietnam - Bring Them Back Now!"

### U.S. Gls Reflect **Anti-War Feeling**

"I've seen a load of boys of 18 grow into tired-looking men. Most of them wish they'd never heard of Vietnam." So wrote a British news-man last week after spending eleven days covering the U.S. marines' days covering the U.S. marines' struggle to recapture the Hué Cita-del from the National Liberation Front. "And they all say they'll write their congressmen stating they have no right to be in Vietnam, which is quite contrary to what I heard two years ago."

On the bomb-scarred plateau at Khe Sanh, where 5,000 embattled marines tensely await a major offensive, one of the most popular songs in the trenches is Pete Seeger's "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" A reporter noted that there is a "hard emphasis" on the part that goes, "Where have all the soldiers gone? To the graveyard every one. Oh, when will they ever learn?" This song is popular among anti-war activists in the States. But "it's our protest, too," explained one GI.

Meanwhile, back home, 25 GIs. at On the bomb-scarred plateau at

Meanwhile, back home, 25 GIs, at Fort Jackson, S.C., organized a "pray-in" service on Feb. 13. A leaflet they distributed to their fellow soldiers asked "Is God on our side? We are soldiers who — like millions of other Americans — have doubts about the war in Viet-

The new stage of the war opened up by the NLF offensive in the cities marks a new high in U.S. casualties and a new low in the sol-diers' morale. It also marks a new stage in the growing expressions of dissent among the troops. Up till recently, this mood of protest has recently, this mood of protest has only been expressed by individuals — the Fort Hood Three; Capt. Levy; Pfc. Howard Petrick; Lt. Howe; the four sailors who deserted from the U.S.S. Intrepid. Now, for the first time in this unpopular war, the daily papers are filled with reports of home-coming GIs saying "We've got no business there"; "It's an unjust war"; "We should get the hell out!" And overseas, it's the same story. Everyone wants to go

This attitude is particularly marked among Afro-Americans and other minority groupings. It's not hard to see why. In the first six weeks of this year, over 2,200 U.S. And although black people make up 10 percent of the U.S. popula-tion, 20 percent of American casualties in Vietnam are blacks.

The GIs who want to go home are one hundred percent right! The

current NLF offensive has shredded all Johnson's claims that the U.S. is fighting a war for democracy in Vietnam. But the only response by the military brass hats to the U.S. setbacks is to demand more troops: the Pentagon has already announced plans to call up 50,000 more reservists. And as American interven-tion increases, and casualties mount, new callups cut deeper and wider into American society, thus escalat-ing the perspective for mass resistance among the troops similar to that witnessed in the closing stages of World War II in the Pacific.

#### Worried

The capitalist rulers are deeply concerned with stifling all manifestations of discontent and disaffection among the troops, particularly where it is organized. For example, at Fort Jackson court martial proceed-ings have been launched against the two leaders of the "pray-in," and three other soldiers have been arrested. The authorities blacked-out the chapel and dispersed the other participants in that poignant demon-

participants in that poignant demon-stration against the war.

Their worry is understandable.

The draftee army is not made up of professional killers, but of ordin-ary young men. It reflects the so-ciety they come from. As a cross-section of the American population, these conscripts tend to reflect and react to the same pressures that their relatives and friends face. And when there is mass opposition to a particular war, they will reflect that sentiment also.

#### New Possibilities

Thus the troops are more and more inclined to look with favor on the growing anti-war movement back home, which they no longer dismiss as cranks and crackpots and "students." Even Bob Hope, Americal bits of the condition was surprised. ica's biggest comedian, was surprised last Christmas to find that he couldn't get the GI's in Vietnam to laugh about the war. "You'd think jibes at the demonstrators and draft card burners would get big yuks," complained one of his associates, "but they didn't from the marines at Danang

### **B.C. Gov't Threatens Compulsory Arbitration**

Labor announced Feb. 26 that a mass conference of 300 labor union mass conterence of 300 labor union representatives will be held March 5 to discuss action against the pro-posed legislation for compulsory arbitration. Ray Haynes, federation secretary, told a press conference the gathering would consider a nearest lettle.

general strike.
by L. Kavanaugh

VANCOUVER - The B.C. Social VANCOUVER — The B.C. Social Credit government has proposed what will be the most repressive anti-labor legislation in Canada. The legislation, which provides large fines and jail terms for even the advocacy of strikes by employees of the government or of Crown corp-orations, is the Socred response to demands for full collective bargain-ing rights made by 1100 striking ing rights made by 1100 striking

The ferryworkers struck the government ferry service, which links the lower mainland and Vancouver Island, on Feb. 16, to protest the layoff of 160 men. A special sitting of the legislature that night rammed through legislation making the workers subject to the Civil Serv-ants Act which denies them the right to strike. When this failed to end the strike, Premier Bennett announced his new binding arbitration

So far the ferryworkers have refused to be intimidated by Bennett's threats, and another eleven of the 50 branches of the B.C. Government Employees Association have announced their willingness to go out with the ferryworkers. The Association leadership has called for a referendum on the strike question

a reterendum on the strike question
— a vote which will take at least
three weeks to count.

The new bill is a threat to all
other trade unionists as well. It gives
the cabinet the right to stop any strike it deems to be detrimental to the public interest, and then to force the union to accept binding arbitration. It is an immediate threat to the woodworkers and pulp and paper unions, the major unions in the province, whose contracts expire this summer. In fact, once it passes on the IWA whose membership is presently engaged in a prolonged strike in the interior of B.C.

The response from labor leaders to this new threat has not been encouraging. Jack Moore, regional president of the IWA, stated that the law would blow up in Bennett's

(See page 2)

#### The Meaning of the Parliamentary

The government had been defeated in the House on a key piece of legislation, the five percent income tax surcharge. By the tenor of debate, the mood of the House, tradition and most of the precedents, the Liberals should have resigned. But Acting Prime Minister Robert Winters thought the government might survive. "I'm sure there are precedents," said the unflappable PM. "I find there are precedents for about every course that exists in government."

But this time those precedents were hard to find unwritten British-style constitution, which one expert described last week as "as close to a dictatorship as you can come." So in the end, it was not a parliamentary rule, but the threat of dissolution of the House and the calling of an election, which saved the government's parliamentary skin. Réal Caouette's flip-flop, which gave the Liberal

parliamentary skin. Real Caouette's flip-flop, which gave the Liberal government the required majority on a new confidence motion, resulted above all from his party's fear of an election.

In saving its life, however, the government had to create a new parliamentary "precedent." From now on, it can be defeated in the House on a key financial measure — for example, a move to raise taxes — and yet continue to govern. Tory Opposition leader Robert Stanfield summed up the effect of the Liberal motion when he said: "The executive branch (cabinet) becomes stronger, parliament weaker. The executive branch becomes less responsible, parliament less supreme. It becomes easier for the cabinet to have its will and its way, harder for parliament or the people to stop it." NDP deputy leader David Lewis put it even more succintly. The Pearson precedent, he said, "is not a motion of confidence in the government, but of nonconfidence in parliament."

So what else is new?, we might ask. What columnist Peter New-man said of the Liberals — that they "look on parliament as a forum man said of the Liberals — that they "look on parliament as a forum to ratify what they decide among themselves, not as a place where public men are made daily accountable for their actions to the people who elected them" — could be said with equal truth of any capitalist government today, in Canada or elsewhere. It is not parliament but the cabinet, composed of leading representatives of the business and financial world — the Sharps, the Winters, the Gordons — which really governs this country. The government's "humiliation" in being (See page 3)

mostly draftees (See name 3)



Editor: ROSS DOWSON

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### Let's Tell the Truth About Women's Rights

"What do you have to say about the status of women?" asks the colorful brochure announcing the aims and structures of the govern-

ment's Royal Commission on the Status of Women.

"Plenty," every woman will reply. After years of fighting for the most elementary human rights, this fifty percent of our population still lives like an exploited minority. Women are the last hired, but the first fired; they receive the lowest wages even for the hardest jobs; deprived by law from adequate information and access to birth control, they can't even have control over their own bodies; in these and a thousand and one subtle and not so subtle ways, economically, socially, even politically, they are an oppressed section of the Canadian society. And it's discrimination based not on ability, or intelligence, or any other objective standard — but sex.

Who's at fault? Men? Women? Or society, the capitalist structure

we live under? And what are the answers?

Some women have something to say, not just because they're women, but as socialists. The League for Socialist Action/Lique Socialiste Ouvrière has set up a commission on women which will be submitting a brief on behalf of the LSA/LSO to the Royal Commission. In future issues of the *Vanguard*, we will be carrying excerpts and articles based on that brief, presenting the socialist position on the situation of women in this society.

# Montreal Forums

by Art Young

Every Friday evening Montreal socialists gather to discuss and debate the significance of current events. Recent activities of the Socialist Forum have ranged from theater parties to discussion of the latest developments in the Vietnam war.

On Jan. 26 the forum heard an appreciation of the newly-published book, by Charles Lipton, Trade Unions in Canada. The speaker, Pat Schultz, praised the book for its considerable research and presentation of little-known facts in the development of labor's organization in this country. She criticized it, however, for its narrow point of view, for following too closely the line of the Communist Party, in its coverage of the last thirty years of the struggle. The audience, composed largely of young people, was particularly interested by the scenes she drew from the book of the battles undertaken to organize workers and to better their conditions; the picture was a welcome contrast to the present-day quiescence of most of the labor movement, and an indication of some of the possibilities for future struggle.

On Feb. 2, Michel Mill presented an appreciation of the present stage of the struggle in Greece. He paid special attention to the role of those within the Greek socialist movement

who, limiting the struggle to the purely democratic plane, diminished the striking power of the masses and so laid the basis for the terrible repression which followed. The following week the forum discussed the Korean crisis and the new Vietnamese offensive; many of the participants at the forum had the previous day demonstrated their opposition to a new U.S. aggression against Korea by a march through the downtown area.

The growing revolt among Russian youth, and the incapacity of that country's ruling caste to grant them their democratic rights was the topic on Feb. 16. This forum on a topic of special interest to North American youth was sponsored by the Montreal Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (Young Socialists), and presented by Doug Campbell.

Forums generally are held in French one week; the next week's forum is in English. However, attendance is steady, sometimes rising to over 40 persons. Coming forums will discuss Canadian nationalism and the struggle for a socialist Canada; the de Gaulle phenomenon and other subjects of importance to those interested in the fight for social progress. To anyone interested, the welcome mat is always out at the Socialist Forum. 66 Guilbault West · (St. Lawrence and Pine), and information available at 844-7742.

# Cross Country With the NDP

#### OYND on Vietnam

Meeting in their sixth annual convention in Kingston February 16-18. the Ontario Young New Democrats echoed the sentiments of the Saskatchewan NDP by calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and an end to Canadian complicity. The resolution was introduced by the Harbord Collegiate YND club in Toronto. In a further step, the convention decided to participate in the anti-war conference to be held in Toronto March 2.

#### Young Socialists

The Ontario YND convention also heard Wendy Stevenson, an Executive Council member of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, who brought official greetings to the YND from the YS-LJS, a fast-growing organization originating among Socialist youth expelled from the YND. The YS message expressed the hope that this convention would "prove to be a great step forward in the building of an effective youth movement of the NDP." It described the work of the YS-LJS, and challenged the YND to "adopt and pursue similar goals." The statement added: "A democratic, self-governing (youth) organization with a socialist, actionoriented perspective could bring together all the tendencies on the left. of which the Young Socialists and the present leadership of the NDY would be only parts of a whole."

The YS representative participated in discussions on the floor of the convention.

At the Feb. 9 council meeting of the British Columbia YND, Young Socialists attended to explain what they stood for and why, as supporters of the NDP and YND, they should be permitted YND memberships. But the council voted to reaffirm its policy of excluding members of the YS-LJS from membership.

#### **Bulletin Reappears**

After an absence of seven months, the Socialist Caucus Bulletin has reappeared. It was founded after the 1965 federal convention by activists in the NDP "dedicated to winning the NDP to socialism." The editors explain that despite the financial and practical difficulties, they intend to publish the bulletin regularly because of the increasing need for the circulation of the socialist view in the NDP.

This issue contains a report of the discussion on Socialism in the Alberta NDP, a demand that the federal office explain its influence in the Colchester-Hants by-election, an article calling for a housing program based on public housing, and the recently adopted Saskatchewan NDP position on Vietnam. A financial appeal is also included to clear up a one hundred dollar debt. Cheques or money orders can be sent to Don Oman, Box 872, Station F, Toronto, Ont.

-by J. Connolly

# Big Banquet Hails Cuban Revolution

by D. Marlon

TORONTO - According to leading Afro-American journalist and commentator Charles P. Howard, "Cuba is certainly the most important place in the western hemisphere." Howard was speaking to an enthusiastic audience of over 200 at the seventh annual banquet and dance of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) on Feb. 17.

The theme of the banquet, as expressed in the back-drop to the headtable, was "Viva Che, Viva Cuba!" Pictures of the martyred revolutionary leader, and placardmounted excerpts from his writings were featured in the elaborate decorations of the hall.

Howard, the guest speaker at the highly successful FPCC affair, has visited Cuba several times since the revolution, and interviewed Fidel

"Cuba," he said, "is making the greatest contribution to the solution of the race problem in the world. Castro and the Cubans have recognized that Afro-Cubans, the black people, are human beings. That is not the way they are recognized in the United States." This point is not lost on black militants in America. Howard added. "In the Cuban revolution, they see the world's greatest military power being denied victory by a little country."

At the conclusion of Howard's speech, Cuban ambassador Amerigo Cruz asked for the microphone to add his own impromptu and eloquent remarks. Expressing the appreciation and solidarity of the Cuban people for the black struggle in the United States, Cruz declared "All our brothers, colored people of the United States, have the right, absolutely the right, to fight for all the things they are fighting for. . . We believe in Cuba that if you want to get something for your people, you have to fight for it."

Both speakers paid tribute to the work of the FPCC in defending and popularizing the Cuban revolution in North America.

Cruz expressed optimism for the growing radicalization in Canada and hoped that on his next trip to Toronto "I am not only going to see this big crowd; I am going to see twice or three times as many people here."

The enthusiastic audience of sympathizers of the Cuban revolution responded to an appeal for funds by contributing \$400 toward the continued functioning of the committee.

The evening came to a close with dancing to Cuban and Latin American music.

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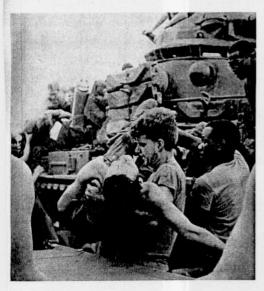
IN VANCOUVER League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville



BANOUET. A view of the crowd at the recent banquet of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in Toronto.

Vol. 12, No. 13 (145)

March 18, 1968



WOUNDED SOLDIER IN VIETNAM. U.S. rulers continue to squander the lives of American youth in wreckless pursuit of a hope-less cause.

# NDP Must Act On Vietnam

by Dick Fidler

As the Vietnam war enters a crucial stage, what is the response of the NDP — the only major party opposed to the war, and capable of giving political leadership to the anti-war movement — to the growing crisis?

In a parliamentary speech in fay, 1965, T. C. Douglas casti-ated the American attempts "to force dictatorial and discredited regimes upon people who are asking the right of self-determination." He said of NDP policy at that time:
"We do not want some new form of colonialism masquerading as an anti-Communist crusade." He scored the Canadian government's "defer-ential pose of supine subservience" to U.S. policy. And he closed with the declaration: "We think the time "deferhas come to speak out, and to speak out boldly before it is too late."

#### Silence

Three years have passed since Douglas' speech — and the war has escalated far beyond the expectations of anyone in 1965. But barring the occasional brief item in the Prairie Commonwealth or the B.C. Democrat, the NDP press is silent about Vietnam. At most party conventions, anti-war resolutions are played down and often maneuvered off the floor by the leadership. When they do come up for debate, they are usually emasculated appeals for "negotiations" or "bombing for "negotiations" or "bombing pauses," failing to confront the real issue — the very presence of U.S. and allied troops in Vietnam. At last summer's federal convention, for example, the executive brazenly ignored dozens of constituency resolutions calling for a hard line against American aggression and Canadian complicity and urging more action by the party, and in-stead buried Vietnam in a compo-site resolution on "foreign policy" which simply treated the war as a "mistake" and blamed the Viet-namese for its continuation!

A few provincial sections — not-ably, Quebec and Saskatchewan —

have passed good resolutions de-manding withdrawal of American troops and an end to the Pearson government's complicity, but the leadership does nothing to carry them off the order paper. Even the excellent motion at the recent Sas-katchewan NDP convention, which also called on the party's parlia-mentary representatives to speak out more on Vietnam, was buried in the center of the Commonwealth, never to be mentioned again in offi never to be mentioned again in omi-cial circles, let alone acted on. Only in Vancouver, where three constitu-encies have voted to endorse the Saskatchewan resolution, have local NDP groups formally adhered to the anti-war movement or played any prominent part in the day-to-day struggle against the war.

#### Contradictory

The NDP leaders would be hard put to explain their scandalous silence on Vietnam. Surely it is con-tradictory to campaign against U.S. control of the Canadian economy, as the NDP does, and yet not speak out with even greater vehemence against American imperialism's threat to drag us to nuclear annihi-lation in defense of its interests in south-east Asia

Furthermore, opinion polls indicate 41 percent of Canadians more than twice the number who voted NDP in the last federal election — favor an immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, and a clear majority are opposed to Can-adian participation in the war. Both labor federations, the CLC and CNTU, are on record as opposing the war. The NDP has a duty to represent the views of these people.

Recent statements indicate leadership may finally be respond ing to mounting pressure on them to speak out against the war. Stephen Lewis has sponsored a motion in the Ontario legislature call-ing on the members to denounce Ottawa's complicity in the war. B.C. MLA Tom Berger told the convention of the Saskatchewan

(See page 3)

# ANGUARD Ottawa March To Protest War

by Phillip Janssen

Over 135 individuals representing 31 anti-war organizations voted overwhelmingly at the March 2 Spring Action Conference in Toronto to launch an anti-war mobiliz-ation at the Liberal leadership convention in Ottawa on April 6. The conference also decided on simul-taneous local actions against the Vietnam war on April 27, the In-ternational Day of Protest called by the U.S. anti-war movement. A new coordinating body, the Spring Mobilization Committee, represent-ing a broad range of the active forces in the anti-war movement, was established to organize and coordinate these actions.

The plans for an April 6 mobil-

ization were based on proposals by the Ottawa CEWV and the Students Association to End the War in Viet-The Ottawa group envisaged ek of action around the Liberal convention culminating in a large mobilization in Ottawa on April 6 to focus the attention of the Libdelegates and the Canadian people on this country's involvement in the Vietnam war. The demonstration will challenge the candi-dates for prime minister to reverse the government's complicity and demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Against the background of recent statements by various provincial spokesmen of the NDP, the presence of several NDP riding execu-tive members from the Toronto area was significant. Their attendance and support for the Spring ac-tions indicates the improving possibilities for involving the NDP mem-bership in the struggle against the Vietnam war.

Among the initiators of past anti-Among the initiators or past anti-war actions, the only groups which stood aside from the April 6 proj-ect were the Canadian Peace Con-gress and the Communist party. While no clear arguments against the proposal were given, their ab-



stention seems to reflect a desire to move away from the militant mass actions around which the move-ment has grown. A recent statement of the Peace Congress, featured in the CP's Tribune, deplored the nonexclusionist policy of the anti-war movement which, they claim, "ex-cludes the right wing" represented by such liberal agencies of the capitalist press as the Toronto Star and Maclean's Magazine.

Preparations for the march on Ottawa are well underway. Over 40 sponsors have signed up, including Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg; Gerry

Gallagher of the Laborers' Union; Profs. Northrop Frye and Chandler Davis; June Callwood; Meg Sears of the Voice of Women; Lloyd Olson, Secretary of the Toronto CLC Joint Council; a member of the OYND provincial executive, Abie Weisfeld: and several NDP riding executive

The Spring Mobilization Committee has obtained headquarters and a full-time organizer has been hired. Attractive two-color leaflets and posters have been printed and can be obtained from the SMC at 241 Victoria St., Toronto.

### **Dim Outlook for Prairies**

by Ross Dowso

The president of the Canada Safeways supermarket chain protests he is "amazed." Liberal leader aspirant and Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, John Turner, after overcoming his initial confus-ion has assured NDP leader T. C. Douglas that his department will act. The Socred, Liberal and Tory governments of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba are all maintaining an embarassed silence — about the report that the Prairie provinces Batten royal commission on living costs has just handed down

This is not surprising, for the re port predicts a gloomy future for the Prairie provinces, confirms that none of the big three boss parties have a solution to the difficulties of the economy, and reveals, in part, the cause of the difficulties — the ruthless practices of monopoly capi-

There can be no misreading of that part of the report that deals with Prairie grocery retailing — the commission was actually struck off to head off protests about the cost of living on the Prairies.

of living on the Prairies.

Consumers are being robbed blind
by the two major grocery chains,
Canada Safeway Limited and the
George Weston Limited group of
companies. They are being taken by
an incredible profit raken by
an incredible profit raken fit and
practices deriving from the monopolistic position of these merchandising lords.

In the words of the report; retail grocers render only about \$190 to \$250 worth of service per family of four each year. Excess profits and costly excess capacity build-up by these corporations reduced con-

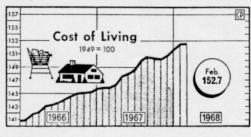
imer well-being by \$61.28 per family of four in 1966.

The interlocking network of food processors, wholesalers and retailers who are fleecing the consumers in the rest of Canada have been really working over the Prairie consumer. Operating profits before taxes as a percentage of net worth were 77.8% incorporated grocery higher for firms on the Prairies than for all

The report makes no bones about it — the lushness of the profit rake-off is due to their monopoly power — and it sketches out the broad outlines of that power. The top four firms control over two-thirds of the market in Regina, Saskatoon and Calgary, and indirectly control through affiliated groups over twothirds of the market in those three cities plus Edmonton and Winnipeg. build twice as many stores They build twice as many stores and twice as much floor space as can be justified on grounds of efficiency. And they build ahead of demand to keep out competition. They advertise on a vast scale with self cancelling campaigns, the pur-pose of which is to erect a barrier to new competition. The commis-sion estimates that the cost of this advertising in each city, which shoved onto the consumer, adds \$14.50 per family for its annual grocery purchases. Conveniences such as free parking and free air conditioning add three cents on every food dollar or \$38.72 a year

for a family of four.

Having revealed some of the harsh truths about how the food trusts loot the consumers' shopping (See page 4)



UP, UP AND AWAY. Once a fluctuating line, now graph of the cost of living index from 1958 on simply goes up. For past two years, the index -- which gives a relative idea of what it costs Canadians to - has increased without a significant dip.

#### European Youth Protest the War

# The Berlin March

by Harry Stone

Twenty thousand young people marched through the streets of Berlin on Feb. 18 demanding an end to the American aggression in Vietnam. Not since the demonstrations against Hitler in the early thirties has Berlin seen anything like it. Never in recent years has there been such a large and militant protest in Western Europe.

The spectacular show of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution was sponsored by the Brussels Conference of Vanguard Youth Organizations and hosted by the West German SDS (German Socialist

Student Union).

West Berlin's Social Democratic mayor, Klaus Schutz, tried to ban the demonstration and branded it as communist and a threat to the free world. As thousands of young people converged on Berlin, however, the courts lifted the ban, marking a major victory for the marchers.

The largest foreign contingent was composed of marchers from the French youth organization Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, who added color to the march with their dozens of red flags and flowing banners calling for the victory of the world socialist revolution. One of the most popular banners, appearing in many languages, was Che Guevara's message, "Create two, three, many Vietnams."

The second largest foreign delegation, from Denmark, carried signs protesting the recent loss of four H-bombs over Danish territory: "U.S. Get out of Denmark" and "Hiroshima, Saigon, Thule."

At an international conference before the demonstration, thousands of young people heard speakers from all over Europe non-stop for over twelve hours. The theme was victory to the Vietnamese revolution. Among the speakers was Rudi Dutschke of the German SDS,



GERMAN YOUTH PROTEST WAR. Anti-war march in West Berlin last Oct. 21. Recent demonstration was still larger. Marchers carried many photographs of Che Guevara (upper left).

Tariq Ali of the British Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, German writers Peter Weiss and Erich Fried, Alain Krivine of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, and the Belgian revolutionary socialist, Ernest Mandel. Messages were read from the National Liberation Front, the Cuban Communist Youth, Bertrand Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre and the German philosopher Ernst Bloch.

The 80 organizations that participated represented most of the socialist youth groups in Europe. The large communist youth organizations in France, Italy, and East Germany were noticeably missing; they objected to the central slogan which included the phrase "Vietnamese

Revolution" and to the participation of Trotskyist youth groups.

The size and spirit of the demonstration marked a defeat for the reactionary forces in Germany

It contrasted dramatically with a pro-war demonstration a few days later. Widely-boosted in the reactionary dailies, this city government-sponsored affair (50,000 civil servants were given the day off to demonstrate) quickly degenerated into a vicious fist-swinging brawl, when the thousands of hoodlums it inevitably attracted roamed through the streets attacking students and worker youth.

The significance of the anti-war demonstration was underlined by Ernest Mandel, who spoke at the rally following the march. As red flags and NLF banners floated from construction cranes high overhead, Mandel told the cheering crowd that a red flag over West Berlin for even an hour was an historic occasion, but that one day it would fly over all Germany, permanently. He reminded the youth that 35 years ago the choice had been between the red flag and fascism and the workers had lost. But the new generation of German youth and their allies around the world would have a second chance.

# Vancouver Forums

by Allan Engler

The current schedule of Vanguard Forums in Vancouver got off to an impressive start Feb. 2 with a Korean student who spoke in the heat of the "Pueblo" incident on developments in his country, north and south, since the 1953 armistice. The student defended the socialist advances in the Korean Peoples Democratic Republic and solidarized himself with the Vietnamese revolution. Some 75 people turned out.

On Feb. 9 Al Engler, Vancouver organizer of the League for Socialist Action, took up the issue of the Soviet writers' trials. The flagrant denial of democratic rights evidenced in these trials has not gone unnoticed in the radical community in Vancouver. A petition was circulated on UBC campus among left wing professors, and the Labor Statesman, official organ of the B.C. Federation of Labor, carried a short article by Dorothy Steeves denouncing the trials.

Paul Boutelle, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., highlighted the month's forums on Feb. 15. A capacity audience of over 130 people turned out to hear Boutelle defend the growing black power movement and socialist support for that movement. (See report, last issue.)

The Feb. 23 forum took a change of pace with the topic: "The High Cost of Dying." Jean Mohart, president of the co-operatively run B.C. Memorial Society and well known in NDP and trade union circles here, reported on recent attacks being made by the "funeral industry" on the Society and the ongoing profiteering and exploitation involved in that business.

Among other recent speakers at the Vanguard Forum have been: Clive Ansley, a UBC Asian Studies student who spoke Jan. 5 on the relations between China and Vietnam; Tom Leonard, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in Seattle who spoke about the growing antiwar sentiment in American trade unions; and Reg Bullock who spoke on the "Liberal Retreat from Medicare."

Vanguard Forums are held every Friday night at 8 o'clock in the LSA Hall, 1208 Granville Street.

### Russell Aide In Toronto

Ralph Schoenman, private secretary to Bertrand Russell, was the featured speaker at Toronto's Vanguard Forum on March 8. Schoenman, who was recently expelled from Bolivia after interviewing Régis Debray and attempting to aid his defense, was a prime mover behind the International War Crimes Tribunal. He has visited Vietnam four times.

In his wide-ranging speech to an audience of 130, Schoenman described how the U.S. "military-industrial complex," which "controls 60 percent of the world's resources and protects them with 4,000 military bases around the world," is preparing more counter-revolutionary wars in Latin America. These are already 50,000 U.S. troops in Latin America, including 2,500 Special Forces in Bolivia alone, he said.

Schoenman also addressed a meeting of the University of Toronto Latin America Justice Committee, which seeks to aid the defense of Latin American political prisoners.

He also spoke in French at, the University of Montreal, to a meeting sponsored by the Union Générale des Etudiants du Québec.

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WORKERS VANGUARD
1 Cumberland, Toronto 5

#145 - Mar. 1968

# NGUARD

### New Light on ICC's Role

Recent incidents have again confirmed the truth of Rabbi Feinberg's charge that the Canadian contingent on the International Control Commission acts in defense of the U.S. position in south-east Asia and works to "shore up" the U.S. argument for intervention in Vietnam and neighboring countries.

Both the Pathet Lao and the north Vietnamese government have protested a recent "inspection tour" of Laos by Canadian and Indian ICC members in response to allegations by the ruling cliques in Thailand and Laos that liberation forces in their countries are planning a new offensive linked with the current NLF offensive in Vietnam The Laotian and Vietnamese protests point out that the ICC intervention, "designed to find a pretext for new military adventures by the United States in Laos," violate the 1962 Geneva agreement on Laos, since it was undertaken at the request of only one of that country's three political factions, thus wrecking the principle of unanimity required for such action.

Prime Minister Pearson has been strangely silent about the ICC team that investigated similar charges in Cambodia earlier this year. But Indian prime minister Indira Ghandhi announced Feb. 28 that the ICC. which India chairs, found no evidence in Cambodia to substantiate U.S. claims that the NLF has camps on Cambodian territory.

Needless to add, the ICC has not investigated the Cambodian protest at the United Nations on March 2 that U.S. and south Vietnamese forces invaded its territory and killed three Cambodians last month.



Envoyez votre contribution aussitôt que possible à EDMONTON TORONTO VANCOUVER OTTAWA MONTREAL

La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Workers Vanguard, 66 rue Guilbault O. Station D, Box 2165 1208 Granville

League for Socialist Action.
1 Cumberland St.

Workers Vanguard

PUBLICATION FUND. This leaflet appealing for contributions to the fund drive is being circulated cross-country by supporters of the WORKERS VANGUARD and LA LUTTE OUVRIERE.

The annual fund drive to sustain the Vanguard for another year of publication is now on. This year, we're seeking \$12,500, the highest sum evely, for we're combining our appeal with that of our sister paper in Quebec, the bi-monthly La Lutte Ouvrière.

Your contribution will help continue the work of these papers as outspoken opponents of the war in Vietnam, as forums for union militants, as reporters of labor's struggle internationally, and as spokesmen for a socialist Canada and Quebec. Our only source of funds is you, the

Besides emabling these two papers to publish for the coming year, we also intend to publish a number of pamphlets like those pictured in the leaflet above.

The drive closes May 1. Please send all contributions to Workers Vanguard/La Listte Ouvrière Publication Fund, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5.

# Challenge New PM on Vietnam



#### With Apologies to Macpherson of Toronto Star

by Dick Fidler

On April 6, thousands of antiwar demonstrators will converge on Ottawa's Lansdown Park to challenge the government's complicity in the Vietnam war. Inside the arena, the top 2,500 Liberal party politicians in the country will be se lecting the next prime minister.

According to Lester Pearson (who should know) the new head of the party which has ruled Can-ada for 54 of the 68 years this century, will be taking over a position which, in terms of sheer per-sonal power, is unrivalled in the

Strange, then, that the most sig-nificant confrontation in Ottawa will be not between the various candidates for the Liberal leadershipbut between these leading spokes-men of the government which has tied Canada one hundred percent behind the criminal U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and the demonstrators outside. For the demonstrators will be focusing public attention upon the major issue hovering over the convention, and indeed the world—Vietnam. But the mass of Liberal delegates, caught up in the razzma-

tazz of convention hijinks, will be pretending that Vietnam — and serious politics — is the thing farthest from their minds. To believe the public relations men, it all boils the public relations men, it all boils down to which candidate has the best "image" — as one commenta-tor put it recently, the winner "must be progressive, yet responsible; firm, yet flexible; aggressive, yet adapt-able; mature, yet youthful; idal-istic, yet realistic," in short, "a man for all seasons" and (we might add) for all classes.

Thus the decisive criteria, it seems, is whether the prospective P.M. is French or English, Protestant or Catholic, young or old, whether his power base is in the East or in the West, and all sorts of other irrelevant trivia. His program and poli-cies are of little account. The threeday convention agenda allows no time for debate on policy. This is not because the candidates have no program — they do. But as the campaign has shown, none of them pose any alternative to existing government policy.
(See page 2)

# VANGUARD

# Stop Arms Sales-Ni

Canada should break its defence production sharing agreements with the United States, NDP foreign af-

rairs critic Andrew Brewin told the House of Commons March 18. "Canada," be said, "is itself im-plicated in the (Vietnam) conflict. It is implicated by the growing sales of war materials under the Defence

Production Sharing Agreement."

Brewin is one of several prominent spokesmen for the NDP who have been speaking out against the war. Federal leader T.C. Douglas ecently re-affirmed the party's be-ief that "the U.S. intervention in the civil war in Vietnam is without

legal and moral justification."

In his March 18 speech, Brewin in its March 18 speech, brewin suggested that if stopping arms sales doesn't work, Canada should im-pose "selective embargoes" on stra-tegic materials. With this in mind, New Democrat Bert Herridge has been pressing in the Commons for Canada to cut off all supplies of nickel to the United States. (Canada is the world's largest producer of nickel, an essential metal in mili tary production.) The government claims it already has such a policy on uranium exports, to prevent fur-ther incursions on America's nuther incursions on America's nu-clear hegemony. And Justice Minclear hegemony. And Justice Min-ister Trudeau admitted in a speech March 1 that a nickel export em-bargo could "break the back of the U.S. war effort" — and for that

reason opposed an embargo!

But External Affairs Minister
Martin arrogantly brushed aside the suggestion March 6 with the fatuous comment that such a move would

toniment that such a more wound on "earn the gratifude" of employees in the nigkel industry!

The NDP is the only political party today that can and does offer a political solution to the complicity of the Canadian government in the war. The record of the other parties is clear enough. Prime Minister Pearson recently announced that he has decided against present-ing a resolution to the Commons urging an end-not to the U.S. pres ence in Vietnam - but only to the

Johnson's declaration that he will not run again has shown to all the utter bankruptcy of the Pearson government's policy—one of slavish support of Johnson's escalation in Vietnam. It lends all the greater urgency to the March on Ottawa on April 6. The nx to rime minister must end Can das complicity with the murderous policy of Johnson and openly denounce U.S. aggression in Vietnam and call for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

— Spring Mobilization Committee, April 1 declaration that he

bombing of north Vietnam, for fear of creating a "divisive atmosphere" in Parliament. Tory leader Stanfield told Carleton University students he sympathized with the Ú.S. "predica-ment" in Vietnam, adding, "I am not prepared to consider the U.S. as an enemy aggressor." Social Credit leader Robert Thompson criticized Brewin's recent speech; concluding that "but for the United States and its actions some of us here would not have the privilege of standing up today to speak in perfect freedom as we are accus-tomed to do in Canada." sympathized with the U.S. "predica-ment" in Vietnam, adding, "I am

While New Democrats have been stepping up their opposition to the war in Parliament, there is still a crying need for the party to take the issue beyond the confines of the House, to respond and give leadership to the millions of Canadians who oppose this criminal war. The big resources at the party's dis-posal should be used to mobilize the labor movement and all other pro-gressive forces against the Liberal government's complicity in the war. Speeches are not enough. The in-Speeches are not enough. The in-creased activity around the April 6 protest in Eastern Canada should be carried forward in all-out mobiliza-tion of the party ranks right across Canada around the coming Inter-national Day of Protest on April 27.

#### **Expose Liberal Gov't** Complicity in the War!

Elsewhere in this issue we note the significant new intervention in the growing debate on Vietnam by the NDP, in its demand that the Liberal government put an end to Canada's \$370 million arms sales to the United States under the defense sharing agreements. Now Prime Minister Pearson himself has entered the debate, with a speech in Hamilton March 24 attempting to defend his government's complicity n the war.

In obvious apprehension over the projected April 6 Vietnam protest at the Liberal leadership convention, the Nobel Peace prize holder lashed out at "war-whooping and dancing around banners bearing hostile slogans that condemn the United States for all the cruelties and wrongs in the world today."

Of the two major themes in the P.M.'s speech, the first — that there is no "instant remedy" or "synthetic formula" to end the war — is explained by the second — that "to concentrate all blame on our neighbor for Vietnam and condemn her as the major, or, as some say, the sole aggressor is foolish and dangerous." For it is precisely because Pearson and his cabinet colleagues do not and will not recoguse Pearson and his cabinet colleagues do not and will not recognize and condemn American aggression in Vietnam that they reject outright all proposals for American withdrawal and pleas to dis-

sociate Canada from the war.

As T. C. Douglas and Andrew Brewin point out, the government opped sales of strategic materials to Portugal, Israel and India and Pakistan during hostilities involving those powers. But it flatly refuses to consider an arms embargo to the United States, Although it is official policy to oppose the bombing of north Vietnam, Pearson rejects a modest Tory proposal to back that policy with a parliamen-

The government's complicity with U.S. foreign policy leads them from one cynical move to another. In recent weeks, we have seen Housing Minister E. J. Benson defend the arms sales because they movide employment in Canada, while a few days later, Manpower Minister Jean Marchand tells a Montreal audience that growing unemployment is not his fault - it's primarily due to "the Vietnam

(See page 3)

#### Turmoil **Europe** East

On March 22, the continuing po-litical upheaval in Czechoslovakia was dramatically highlighted by the forced resignation of President Novotny. Coming at the same time as the increasingly militant demonstrations of Polish students against the repressive Gomulka regime, this de-velopment underscored the increasing ferment taking place through-out Eastern Europe.

Novotny's resignation would ap pear to signify the final eclipse of the Communist party's longtime hardcore Stalinist leaders. It came following weeks of public clamor for his replacement.

Novotny had headed up the party bureaucracy for 15 years and held the presidency since 1957.

In January, as the result of a stormy conflict between the party hierarchy's "liberal" and old-line Stalinist wings, he lost the top party

post to Slovak Communist leader

The scandal which finally broke Novotny's political neck was the defection of top-ranking Maj.-Gen. Jan Sejna to the United States along with the country's military secrets.

#### Poland page 2 Editorial page 3

Prague newspapers revealed that Sejna had tried to use an armored division to block the move to give Novotny the boot as first secretary.

Novotny the boot as first secretary.

During the outburst that ensued, numerous Novotny supporters resigned and the deputy minister of defence shot himself. As of now, only two Novotny supporters re-

main in the Czech cabinet.

With the announcement of Novotny's resignation came an announcement from the polithuro that

tral committee a program to "re-habilitate" 30,000 victims of the no-Stalinist purge trials of the

early '50s.

This decision appears to confirm
the policy of the "reform" sector
of the party bureaucracy to make
limited concessions to mounting
pressure from the masses, in particular from the students and intellect-uals, for cultural and political freedom of expression after 20 years of

stifling Stalinist dictatorship. Following the ouster of Novotny as first secretary of the party, a number of the most notorious Stal-inist officials dedicated to continuation of the old repressive methods, were replaced. In addition to this shift, the party praesidium annulled a 1966 law restricting the press, television and radio.

At issue between the two wings

(See none

# OUR United Appeal

by Joan Newbigging

It takes all types of frauds, hoaxes and trickeries to keep capitalist society going. One of the most grotesque of these is the annual gala and frolic which goes under the name of the United Appeal Fund Drive.

Pierre Berton, in his book The Smug Minority, throws some light on this massive project which is undertaken every year by the business community. He tells us how they set the goal. The overriding criteria is that the drive be successful. The goal must be topped. At all costs, the reputations of the business leaders who organize the drive must be enhanced. It doesn't matter what relation this goal bears to the very real needs it is supposed to meet. Thus some urgent community projects may have to be scrapped, or some organizations which serve a pressing social need may have to operate on a shoe string. But as long as the goal is surpassed, the drive is successful!

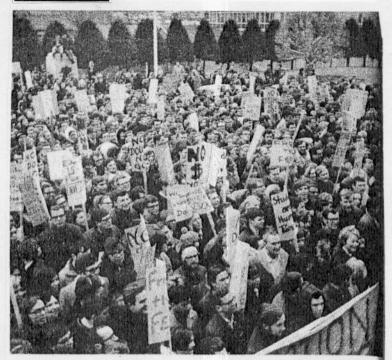
Now, in contrast to this, the organizers of the Vanguard/La Lutte Publications Fund Drive are not looking for prestige and glory! Sure, we hope to get over the top — and the top this year is an all-time high of \$12,500 — but the main characteristic of our goal is that it's a challenge, and not that it's easily attainable.

We have two things in mind in setting this goal. Firstly, we need to cover our basic costs in maintaining regular publication of our papers, the Vanguard and La Lutte Ouvrière, and to build our other publications. The new opportunities for their circulation which the growing interest in the NDP and the anti-war movement presents, is shown by a letter we just received today from an Edmonton supporter: "Sold 93 Vanguards at NDP convention so far — please send 100 more if possible."

You might think it is coincidental that, at the same time as we are moving ahead with the fund drive, we are releasing our latest pamphlet, a new edition of the Communist Manifesto with an introduction by Leon Trotsky. We intend to continue with projects of this type, and we hope that this pamphlet will give an added impetus to the drive by showing you concretely what we are doing with your donations!

The other factor we have to take into account is what we can realistically expect to receive from you, our supporters. We are confident that you will agree with us that new opportunities are opening up for socialists in Canada. That as the trade union movement and the New Democratic Party grow, and in particular as the anti-Vietnam war movement grows, it is vital that socialists be an active and informed part of these developments.

In the coming period the socialist press has an increasingly important role to play in informing, educating and guiding the growing numbers of socialists in these movements. Your contributions, however small, will ensure that we are able to do this.



'TAX OIL, NOT STUDENTS.' Students from University of Albertally against fees increase outside Alberta legislature.

# U of Alta. Students Fight Fees Increase

EDMONTON — Close to 3,000 angry students from the University of Alberta marched on the legislature here March 12 to protest a \$50-\$100 hike in tuition fees recently announced by the university board of governors.

The increase followed the Social Credit government's announcement that it would slash one and a half million dollars from the U of A's operating budget. The university didn't even wait for the budget cuts to be voted, however, before deciding to put the new financial burden on the students.

The students' response was loud and clear. Despite attempts by the students council organizers to ban "chanting and heckling" and "unauthorized" placards, the demonstrators chanted "Tax Oil, Not Students," "Freeze the Fees, Not the Students" and "We want Ernie (Manning)." They booed the minister of education when he tried to address the throng in front of the legislature. And when student council president Al Anderson tried to disperse the demonstration while he went in for a "closed session" with Premier Manning, several hundred students pushed their way into the lobby where they held an impromptu Hyde-Park-style speak-out.

The militant protest climaxed a campaign by student radicals to force the conservative Students Council and the Students for a Democratic University, a student

power group, to lead the strugglagainst the fees increase. When the SDU failed to act quickly enough a rally of 750 students called be an ad hoc committee in early March voted with only three disenting votes to force the councit organize the march.

Speaking for the Young Socialists who had played a leading role is building the rally and demonstration, Keith Locke pointed out the even more working class your would be kept out of university if fees were increased. He denounce the fact that the students were never consulted about the decisions of its board of governors or the government, and said the fight against the increase was part of a longer range struggle for student power.

A Young Socialist leaflet di tributed at the march stressed it scandalous anomoly of tuition fe in oil-rich Alberta. "Tax Oil Con panies, Not Students," it demande The leaflet, one of a number p out by the YS during the car paign, pointed to recent suggestio by the president of the Alber Students Association that studen withhold fees or stage a stude strike next fall to protest the in crease.

A rally held the day after the march discussed these proposals a set up an ad hoc committee to continue the struggle with or with the Student Council.

# **Alberta NDP Convention**

by John Lejderman

EDMONTON, March 25 — Although many NDPers following the "debate" in the Alberta Democrat may have expected a lively convention over this past weekend, their hopes failed to materialize. The leadership came well prepared with six "keynote" speakers, a leaders' report, and policy papers prepared by appointed committees. Thus discussion was kept to a minimum, while the time element gave the appointed chairman excuses to maneuver many controversial discussions to a close.

The left, mainly centered in the youth, with the handicap of its delegates quota cut from last year, and failing to organize itself seriously, didn't make a strong visible impact on the convention despite sporadic speeches. And so the annual reunion of the "class of '33" and CCF alumni, while perhaps contributing to the party treasury, was politically inconclusive in terms of meaningful debate.

There were, however, a number of inspiring "happenings." A motion to build fall-out shelters was defeated, after the Saskatchewan resolution on Vietnam was adopted al-

most unanimously, albeit watered down to call for the withdrawal of "foreign" troops from Vietnam, despite the main body of the resolution's clear condemnation of the U.S. The April 27 Vietnam IDP was endorsed, although as the clock ticked off the last minutes of the convention where the resolution was placed, there was no time to discuss meaningful organizational implementation of this policy.

The growing militancy of the women's struggle was expressed in strong protests over the failure of the leadership to present a policy paper on the status of women, and then against the chairman's ruling to move a motion from the floor for legalized abortions and free contraceptives, to the end of the convention where it might not be discussed. It passed however, as the last order of business. To wide applause, Rebecca Coulter, an NDY delegate, questioned Mrs. Renwick on the platform about the inferior status of women in the NDP, where they "make cookies and tea."

Party leader Neil Reimer made a very significant speech in which he talked of the need to strengthen the base of the party "in the cities" and said that we live in a "class society." In the context of his speech this call could only be interpreted as an appeal to a more working-class based party. A Workers Vanguard leaflet welcomed this direction for the party, but pointed out that the bulk of the program passed at the convention and the leadership's purely parliamentary strategy differed so little from the big business parties that it had very little clearcut working class appeal. At the same time Mr. Reimer broached the possibility of disbanding the youth movement which has been pushing for socialist policies. He did however come out clearly for NDP participation in municipal politics.

Two leading executive members, Grant Notley and Ed Nelson, attempted unsuccessfully to forcibly confiscate the *Vanguard* leaflets to prevent them being further distributed inside the convention hall, but they refused a challenge to get their censorship approved on the floor of the convention.

The leadership was not voted upon at this convention, a "policy" convention. Hopefully the left will be better organized by the next convention, and some of these new recruits from the "cities" will join the party in the meanwhile.

Vol. 12, No. 15 (147)

April 15, 1968

# Crisis for

by Allan Engler

VANCOUVER — The B.C. Federation of Labor held its first major public rally against Bill 33 on April - two days after the Bill, which gives the cabinet sweeping powers to impose compulsory arbitration, had already passed!

The rally, attended by 2,000 workers in a hall which holds 7,000, was punctuated with booing, heck-ling and shouts of "Action" and "General Strike Now."

ling and shouts of "Action" and "General Strike Now."

Ed Staley, president of the Federation, opened the meeting with a long, monotonous reading of a statement condemning Bill 33 prepared by the B.C. Civil Liberties Union. During his talk, the shout "General Strike" from the audience was greeted with moderate applause.

He was followed by Robert Strachan, the B.C. leader of the NDP. Although leaders of Social Credit and the Liberals were invited, only Strachan showed up. Strachan repeated much of the condemnation of the Bill in Staley's speech. As well he said, "Laws or no laws, when there's a dispute and workers decide to hit the bricks, that's exactly what they are going to do."

He pointed out that the Bill was similar to recommendation, made

He pointed out that the Bill was similar to recommendations made by J. V. Clyne, chairman of Mac-Millan Bloedel, the most powerful forest monopoly in the province. The third speaker was Joe Morris,

a vice-president of the CLC. As he was speaking, one-third of the audience,, led by the Vancouver local of the IWA, got up and left the

His speech, which sounded like a funeral dirge, was too much for the audience, which had uncomfort-ably sat through over an hour of boring recitations of the evils of the bill without any direction being given for a struggle.

A burly trade unionist walked up to the front while he was speaking and demanded that a microphone be placed on the floor so that the rank-and-file could have their say. This was refused, but another mem-ber of the audience got up and shouted, "We've had two hours of speeches. We know what Bill 33 is about — what are we going to do about it?"

The audience then came alive. Led by a large contingent from the plumbers union, they chanted, "Ac-tion, Action, We want Action," and "General Strike Now."

Morris was forced to cut his speech short. Paddy Neale, secretary of the Vancouer Labor Council, who recently spent three months in jail for disobeying an injunction, and who is one of the most popular trade union leaders in the province, took the floor—He-made the best speech of the afternoon. the best speech of the atternoon. He was given strong applause when he said, "The building trades coun-cil told the government — and I am sure other unions will follow suit — that they are not going to accept arbitration and that if one

(See page 4)

# Special! 3 Color Vietnam Poster

- See supplement inside-



OTTAWA, APRIL 6. A view of some of the anti-war demonstrators outside the Liberal party convent Inset — Among speakers at rally were Laurier Lapierre of the NDP and Joe Young, president of

# Rally on April 27 **Against Viet War**

by Paul Swift

"Mobilize, mobilize on April 26-27!" is the resounding call of the Canadian anti-Vietnam war move-ment in response to President Johnson's announcement that he is re-signing in the light of the failure of his war policy. The occasion of the mobilization is the International Day of Protest April 27, called by the U.S. anti-war movement, and the April 26 Student Strike against

The call of the U.S. movement has been taken up by anti-war forces around the world. In Canada, the Spring Mobilization Com-mittee in Ontario has issued a call for Canadians to demonstrate "against the United States govern-ment at its consulates and missions across the country. . . With the people of the world: Against Wash-ington's criminal war." Similar demonstrations are slated for many other cities. Solidarity with the Stu-dent Strike in the U.S. will be demonstrated by Toronto high school Students on April 26, when Students Against the War in Victnam (SAWV) is planning a march and rally at Toronto's City Hall.

The mobilization comes closely on the heels of the dramatic con-frontation in Ottawa April 6, when on the heels of the dramatic con-frontation in Ottawa April 6, when about 1000 demonstrators de-manded an end to Canada's com-plicity in the war, as the Liberal Party leadership convention chose

chief warmaker. Organized by chief warmaker. Organized by Spring Mobilization Committee the Ottawa Committee to End War in Vietnam, the demonstra drew participants from Onti Quebec, and New Brunswick many of them high school stude

The Ottawa action was endo by leading figures in the NDP, labor movement and the acade community. Greetings were rece by the pre-march rally from Pa Neale of the Vancouver La Council and Rabbi Abraham F Council and Rabbi Abraham F berg. Speakers at the rally inclu NDPer Laurier Lapierre, Ken V ren of the Spring Mobiliza Committee, Joe Young of the ; dent Association to End the Wa Vietnam, Bert Keser of SAV who spoke on behalf of the Ir number of high school students attendance, and Cy Gonick Canadian Dimension.

### M. L. King: End of an Era

The following statement was is-sued April 5 in the name of the Afro-American Progressive Association. The AAPA is a group of black people in Toronto and vicinity re-cently organized to study and apply the teachings of black militants, and to defend the interests of black peo-ple in this city.

ple in this city.

On April 4 two shots rang out heard around the world. Two black mothers wept. One nameless black man died in the jungles of Vietnam, fighting for the preservation of freedom. Whose freedom? The other, whose only cry was Peace and Justice, named Dr. Martin Luther King was sleavhetered in Luther King was sleavhetered in tin Luther King, was slaughtered in the jungle street of a racist America. The violence exported for so long

by a violent society has now been climaxed by the assassination of Martin Luther King.

Marin Luther King.

We mourn the death of Martin
Luther King, who was flesh of our
flesh and blood of our blood. To
his bereaved family we extend our
deepest sympathy and tears of all
black men.

Was our best to the control of the

Diack men.

Was our brother's assassination
the violent act of a sick white man?
Or was it part of a conspiracy to
incite black communities in the
streets of the United States to a premature uprising so that they might be slaughtered in the streets like dogs?

Malcolm X died for the freedom Malcolm X died for the freedom of black people. His call was to all black people to rise and stretch their limbs, stiff from too much kneeling. His blood ran in the streets of America.

Martin Luther King was an apostle of non-violence. His promised land was for the meek. His knees were calloused and sore from praying. Yet his blood too gushed



MEMORIAL FOR KING. Over 100 black people in Toronto marched to U.S. consulate April 7 where they left a coffin and wreath at door in memory of stain black leader Martin Luther King, symbolically showing that the main responsibility for King's assassination lies with the white power structure of capitalist America. The march followed a meeting of the Afro-American Progressive Association which paid tribute to King and raised over \$400 for the defence of imprisoned Black Power militant Rap Brown.

in the streets of America

How soon will it be before the blood of our black children turns to pools and streams and rivers in the gheltos of America? We the people of color must re-

evaluate our position — now.

No borrowed philosophy, no adopted faith has redeemed us so far. Let our paradise be for all men

— except the poor in spirit. Let us unite. Unity must always be our guide. Let no more black mothers weep in vain. Let no black man hang his head in despair. Let us never lower our head or bend our knees to any man. Let the shots that took the life of our black brother, Martin Luther King, be the spark that unites us all.

#### Who Are They Kidding **About Trudeau?**

by The Editors

What a snow job the charlatans of the capitalist press are doing

What a snow job the charlatans of the capitalist press are doing the prime minister designate, Trudeau. A "just society?" L'eft-winger Cruel jokes indeed. Especially when you look at the facts.

Was it an accident that Trudeau was endorsed for Liberal leat and prime minister by the leading Tory papers in the country, including that austere guardian of the Bay Street outlook, the Globe and Mc. Is it possible to find a single really progressive statement among a of the hundreds, even thousands, of speeches and articles turned out or on behalf of this scion of a wealthy Montreal family?

By his own admission, we know Trudeau supports American since

By his own admission, we know Trudeau supports American aims Vietnam; that he opposes an embargo on arms sales to the Unit States; that he favors continued membership in NATO and "a streng ehing of continental defense" (that is, closer military alliance w American imperialism, if that's possible). We know his violent oppotion to even "special status" for French Canada; his friendly attitude increased foreign investment his consolidation. increased foreign investment; his opposition to medicare and his o spokenly reactionary views on social welfare ("Let's end all this fi

NDP spokesman Laurier Lapierre notes that Trudeau's policy sta ments do not say anything about unemployment, inadequate housin urban blight, pollution, and a host of other important problems. E does it really matter? From his silence, we can safely presume that tl does it really matter? From its silence, we can safety pressure that a saave "reformer" stands squarely where all the other candidates a his cabinet colleagues stand: on present Liberal party policy. And t working people of Canada should know what that means!

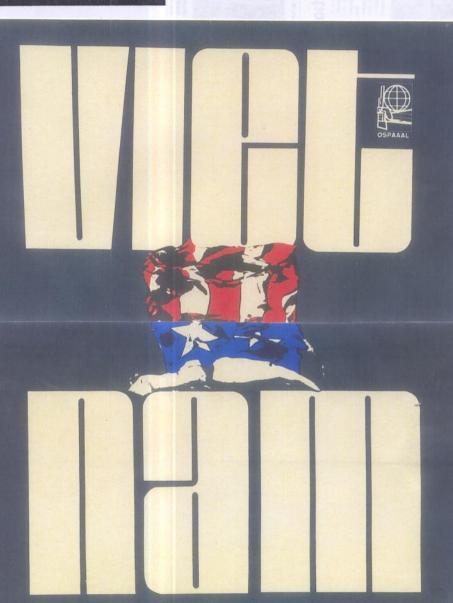
Who and what does Trudeau really represent? Thirty-six percent

the Liberal convention delegates were not even elected by party men bers. Almost 25 percent were lawyers, like Trudeau. And even t delegates - all long-time Liberal activists and apologists - didn't real

(See page 3)

VANGUARD

# 147- Apr. 1968





DEFEND FREE SPEECH. Pickets outside Ottawa's city hall protest Ottawa bylaw which would prevent demonstrations.

# Ottawa Council Restricts Demo's

OTTAWA — Between 75 and 100 demonstrators "stood in" in front of Ottawa City Hall on March 28 to protest a new bylaw being considered by City Council that would restrict "loitering" and demonstrations on city sidewalks and in front of foreign embassies. The bylaw was adopted a few days later.

The demonstration was organized by an ad hoc committee which included representatives from the Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Carleton Young New Democrats, the Ottawa Young Socialists, and the Ottawa "hippie" group.

The group was addressed by

George Addison, spokesman of the OCEWV, who called the new bylaw undemocratic, and said it denied citizens freedom of assembly and speech.

Gilbert Levine, national research director for the Canadian Union of Public Employees, claimed that the bylaw could also prevent picketing during industrial disputes: "We must mobilize the working people of this city as well as young people and students against this bylaw."

The committee has expressed its intention to continue its fight for freedom of speech on Ottawa streets.

# WHAT LEVESQUE REALLY WANTS

OPTION QUEBEC by René Lévesque, Les Editions de l'Homme, Montreal, \$2.00. (English edition to appear shortly from McClelland & Stewart.)

Québécois by the thousands are snapping up copies of Lévesque's pamphlet, the manifesto of his "Mouvement Souveraineté-Association" which is to take the shape of a new party on the Quebec scene this month. His "option" has been presented as a decisive challenge to the waves of verbiage and duplicity generated by the debate around the future of Quebec in confederation.

As minister of natural resources in the Lesage Liberal government, Lévesque carried out the "nationalization" of Quebec's hydro-electric plant and provincialized certain welfare plans. But he had evolved from the Lévesque who once joined the striking CBC French network producers' picket line to the point where he refused to side with striking Hydro engineers in their struggle against their anti-union management.

It was during the famous visit of General de Gaulle last summer that he first took his stand for an independent Quebec, for which he was soon forced out of the Liberal party. Since then he has seen a rapid growth of support mainly from. middle-class Québécois, and has thrown the existing independentist parties into a crisis of forced regroupment.

The first section of this very brief thesis sketches the history of oppression of French Canada, and describes the "Quiet Revolution" in terms of the colonial "revolution of rising expectations . . . l'accélération de l'histoire" towards the creation of a nation-state "in our own image, as progressive, as efficient, as 'civilised' as all the others." Once

in the forefront of the Liberal cabinet's struggle against Ottawa for increased provincial rights, Lévesque now argues against Quebec's frustrated attempts to win a special status as a waste of time and energy which in the end would lead to "two paralyzed majorities." For him, the only satisfactory solution for Quebec is to achieve complete jurisdiction as a state, a solution which for him would also be salutary for the central Canadian state.

That the "Quiet Revolution" itself is above all an expression of increased militancy of organized labor does not find recognition in Lévesque's scheme. His economics expert Parizeau asserts that the tremendous push forward in education, a doubled minimum salary in 3 years, and the unionization of the public sector to a degree unique in North America "are truly not bourgeois measures." But Lévesque does not admit that these reforms were conceded only reluctantly, under considerable pressure from Quebec workers. His concept of a new state purposely ignores the motive force behind the upsurge in Quebec.

Lévesque's "option," in reality only a step further than the concept of associate-states, provides that the new sovereign Quebec immediately enter into a Canadian Union, under which without further ado it would share the responsibilities of defense (which he terms "our pseudodefense") and foreign affairs (despite the de Gaulle affair, the hassle over Gabon . . .). As to the "sovereignty" of powerful corporations to continue to make profits and to extract Quebec's natural resources, as well as to dictate the terms of supply or export of capital, all this will remain unchallenged.

As a matter of fact, Lévesque's "bet" and "plan" have, we are told, some built-in safeguards. To meet the danger of a devalued Quebec dollar there is to be a monetary union; to ensure the normal functioning of trade, a common market arrangement which would closely approximate existing relations under which English Canada benefits from Quebec, and both are "safeguarded" from "excessive" plundering from the American colossus. Perhaps the Montreal food market would be protected for Quebec agriculture.

The Montreal Stock Exchange is

to maintain "intimate" relations with that of Toronto; a tariff union could of course be arranged with Canada as this would continue to be in Ontario's interests; there would be a proportional division of higher-level jobs in the Bank of Canada (the old English-capital method of assuring domination over the French); common money, joint reserves and a shared national debt! A more cosy sharing of "sovereignty" with the old ruling class, a more formal concept of national autonomy without real content, is hardly imaginable.

Much of the independentist Quebec left, especially the youth, have already perceived that the struggle for the liberation of Quebec is the struggle for a Socialist society. They have already solidarized with the Quebec workers' struggles against their bosses and the Quebec government, and their political appreciation of the content of independentist programs has sharpened as witnessed by the split-off of the left-wing group around André Ferretti from the RIN as the latter moves towards fusion with Lévesque's group. For these radicals, Lévesque's failure to offer a broad anti-capitalist program hitting at the root of Quebec's national inequality its domination by Canadian and

American monopoly capital — is conclusive proof that no section of the French Canadian bourgeoisie or petty-bourgeoisie can lead the struggle for meaningful independence.

Thus the burning question for us indépendentistes and revolutionary socialists alike - is, will the labor movement rise to the challenge of Quebec's upsurge? In this period of political ferment and regroupment of forces, a decisive step forward depends on the entry of the powerful ranks of Quebec's organized labor into political action with the formation of a labor party - and an immediate forging of unity between the two big labor federations, the OFL and the CNTU. For a start, the QFL must abandon its hysterical opposition to Bill C-186 and resist all such provocations to divide Quebec's labor forces.

Besides laying the foundation of a political force capable of establishing a socialist, genuinely sovereign Quebec, a labor party of the united forces of Quebec workers could win the support of English-Canadian workers already organized in their labor party, the NDP, who will be a powerful ally in the struggle against the political center of Canadian capital — Ottawa.

By Jean-Guy Lemire

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# The Status of Women R



VIETNAM PROTEST, APRIL 27. Toronto citizens marched in solidarity with anti-war demonstrations across Canada and throughout the world. Biggest demonstrations were in the United States itself. The massive response on the International Day of Protest showed the American rulers and their allies that most opponents of the war put no confidence in Johnson's phony "peace" campaign. They will be satisfied with nothing less than complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

# Hands Off Vietnam! Block Ottawa's Plans

Will Canadian troops be sent to Vietnam as part of a new national police force? The Liberal government is already preparing for it. The morning after Lyndon Johnit. The morning after son's announcement of his latest phony "peace initiative," it "reac-tivated" investigation of the availability of Canadian troops for serv-ice in Vietnam.

The same proposal has now been put forward by a tendency of the anti-war movement. Organizers of a "Sunshine Teach-In" in Toronto April 27, announcing the purpose of their action, stated that "Canada can have an important role . . . supervising the withdrawal of for-eign troops and the holding of na-tional elections."

#### Gov't Aids Arms Exports

Canada's own military-industrial complex is planning to muscle in on the international arms export business in a big way, according to the April 13 Financial Post. Ottawa correspondent Clive Baxter reports that a senior Defense officer told him the department has "two main target

"First, we want to see Canadian rist, we want to see Canadian companies get as much of the defense spending as possible. Second, we hope that, by identifying our equipment requirements early equipment requirements carry enough, Canadian companies will produce the sort of items other countries will want as well. Then they will be able to make substan-tial export sales."

In accordance with its "new long-In accordance with its new joing-term planning techniques," the Financial Post says, National De-fense will give "confidential brief-ings" to firms in aerospace, ship-building, electronics, vehicles, com-munications—and "any other industrial grouping that seems to make sense to the defense planners"—on "what it believes are the probable requirements of our NATO allies...
"Canadian military men attached

to NATO and embassies in friendly countries (!) are now under orders to feed into the plan all the ino feed into the plan all the inormation they can on the likely requirements of other nations . . .
Where these requirements mesh
with Canadian needs, industry will
be tipped off so it can make its
blans with these additional markets mind."

Ottawa's crown corporation, the anadian Commercial Corporation, as already solicited hundreds of illions of dollars of arms sales in the United States, many of them ed to the Vietnam war.

tle consternation among Toronto anti-war activists, where the Spring Mobilization Committee, March 2 by a conference represent-ing 31 organizations, had long since ounced plans for a march on the announced plans for a march on the U.S. consulate, to call for imme-diate withdrawal of U.S. troops. The division provoked by the "Sun-shine Teach-In" showed how ser-iously a tendency of the anti-war movement has been disoriented by Johnson's maneuvres.
"Encouraging Peace"

The leaflets and poster for the event contain no word of protest against the criminal actions of American and Canadian governments in Vietnam. The International Day of Protest is renamed "Day of Pressure and Protest." In place of call for U.S. withdrawal is

a call for U.S. withdrawal is a meek plea for us to "encourage" the U.S., and presumably the Vietnamese, to "continue peace negotiations until peace is won."

Is this the best the friends of Vietnam can muster, here in the countries which have devastated that nation—a call to "encourage peace negotiations?" Twice already "peace" has been negotiated in Vietnam, and each time the imperialist powers have broken the agreements vers have broken the agreements and renewed the war. The call for more negotiations only gives credmore negotiations only gives crea-ence to Washington's claim to have some right in determining Vietnam's future, and plays into the hands of U.S. attempts to lay the blame on north Vietnam for hindering nego-

The purpose of anti-war actions to demonstrate that the U.S. war Vietnam is, as the NDP puts it, without legal or moral justification. Our job is to prove the U.S. has no Our job is to prove the U.S. has no right to negotiate any aspect of Vietnam's future except, as they say, whether its troops leave by plane or by boat. Only by mobilizing the maximum forces for U.S. withdrawal, can the anti-war movement help clear the road for the genuine self-determination of the Vietnamese

#### Hands Off Vietnam!

Far from advocating renewed Canadian intervention in Vietnam, we must be on guard to prevent Canada's deeper involvement in im-Canada's deeper involvement in in-perialist wars and police actions, in Vietnam or anywhere else. We know only too well how Ottawa proposes to supervise U.S. with-drawal and "free elections"—this was exactly the assignment Canada received after the Geneva peace agreement of 1954. Returned mem-bers of the International Control Commission have proved how Canadian government representa-tives covered the tracks of U.S.

ing of national elections. Ottawa has been busy training Canadian has been busy training Canadian soldiers for "peace-keeping forces" by teaching them the techniques ... of combating peasant and guerilla revolutions! In recent army exercises in the Australian jungles, Canadian soldiers prepared for their "peace-keeping" role by learning the fine techniques of capturing mock Vistasamers villagers and avoiding Vietnamese villages and avoiding the spiked pits and booby traps which desparate Vietnamese lagers use to defend their land.

The Canadian army has received no invitation from the Vietnamese! On more than one occasion the north Vietnamese have condemned Canada's complicity in Vietnam in the strongest terms, calling Ottawa's actions "incompatible with Canada's membership on the L.C.C." Our demands on Ottawa must be not to extend this complicity but to end it —by resigning from the I.C.C., halting sales of arms and strategic ma-terials to the U.S., and telling (See page 3)

NGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 16 (148)

April 29, 1968

# Vote NDP

"It IS a personality contest," screams the Toronto Telegram in a banner headline announcing the forthcoming federal election. Indeed, that's what the two boss parties would like us to think. For the first time in years, they hope they've come up with credible alternatives in the figures of the "swinging" Trudeau and the stolid Stanfield —new bottles to give the illusion that the old wine has some new zest.

But really it turned to vinegar long ago.

As NDP leader T. C. Douglas points out, Trudeau was no sooner

As NDP leader T. C. Douglas points out, Trudeau was no solid elected Liberal leader than he promised he would call parliament and elected Liberal program to it before going to the polls. Now the new P.M. says the voters must be "consulted before the government brings a program . . . before parliament." Consulted? About what? So far, program Trudeau hasn't suggested he has any program significantly different

from established Liberal party policy.

If it's the Liberal government's record, then the issues are clear. Despite outgoing Prime Minister Pearson's pledge that the govern-ment would reintroduce its bill to reduce drug prices immediately after the leadership convention, the bill dies with this session. With it dies Trudeau's own much-publicized legislation promising amend-ments to the criminal code and legalization of birth control advertising. to bring the judicial system a little closer to the twentieth century Now we know how much Trudeau was committed to even these minor reforms.

The issues are equally clear on other matters, too. At the head of the list is the present government's craven complicity with U.S. imperialism, particularly its support of the American aggression against Vietnam. One of the first acts of the newly-elected Liberal government in 1963 was to arm the Bomarc missiles with nuclear weapons. One of Pearson's last acts as prime minister was the renewal of the dis-credited but dangerous NORAD treaty which maintains those weapons mass destruction on Canadian soil.

The Tories, of course, have no basic differences with the Liberals. Stanfield says the major issue is the "competence of the government . . . to retain the "confidence of investors."

The election flows in part from the continuing crisis of both capitalist parties, which is reflected in their repeated failure in recent years to elect a government with a clear majority of parliamentary seats. They hope to overcome the electorate's loss of confidence in them by adopting new faces at the top, while retaining the same old rotten, discredited policies,

Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald welcomes "the opportunity to cut through the image-making of the moment and present . . . issues to the people." He lists these issues as "housing, employment, interest rates, prices.'

But the party's campaign must go considerably further than the election program just released by Woodsworth House in Ottawa,

(See page 3)

#### Challenge to Labor Movement

### Issues Facing CLC Convention

The delegates to the 1968 CLC convention in Toronto will be con-fronted with several major issues, all of which are symptoms of the deepening crisis of leadership in the Canadian labor movement.

The convention's celebrations of the recent breakthroughs on the parity front should not be allowed o hide the fact that serious difficulties confront organized labor

The legislative attack on labor by all levels of government contin-ues unabated. It may soon become no longer a harrassing action but a direct threat to the existence of organized labor itself, and poses the need for intensified political acin the union ranks.

—The convention is now faced with a serious split between the CLC leadership and the whole Quecall tendership and the whole Que-bec section, the Quebec Federation of Labor, as a result of the en-trenched opposition of the CLC brass to the demands of Quebec workers for recognition of their language and cultural rights.

-Canadian labor must formu-late a fighting program to counter the loss of income and jobs to war-inflated prices and technological

change. - For years now, the labor lead-ership has conceded the principle of compulsory arbitration with longterm contracts and no-strike pledges for the duration of those contracts. The unions must reverse this trend and overcome the lack of response of the apparatus to the on-the-job grievances and needs of the membership, a problem that goes beyond the difficulties posed by the archaic and cumbersome based structures which riddle the or-



VICTIMS, Bud Clark, left, and Vic Skurjat, right, were among 26 people jailed during Tilco Plastics strike in Peterboro. Mass picketing in defiance of injunc-tions was dumped by union

-Then there is the continuing failure of the unions to break out of their traditional strongholds and extend into the increasingly important white collar and service fields, which reflects the continuing over-all stagnation of the labor movement.

The background to the May convention is formed by two or three years of increasing rank and file militancy

1966-67 saw the greatest loss of man-days through strikes since the postwar upsurge of 1946 — many of them wildcats. In the major in-dustrial provinces — B.C., Quebec and Ontario — militant struggles and Ontario — militant struggles against anti-labor legislation, partic-ularly injunctions, have challenged ularly injunctions, have chairenged the entire legal framework, and in the first two provinces, even raised the question of general strike. The new militancy of engineers and professional workers in Quebec,

highlighted by the recent organiza-tion of over 1,000 bank employees in Montreal, reflects the inspiring upsurge of the entire Quebec labor

upsurge of the entire Quests.

Clearly, labor retains its fighting potential. But in spite of this upsurge in militancy in the ranks during the last two years, the labor movement finds itself more hemmed in by restrictive laws than ever (See page 3)

### Anti-War Action in Vancouver

by Allan Engler

VANCOUVER — Over thirty organizations including all of the Vancouver ridings of the NDP, several trade union locals, the Vancouver Labor Council, the League for Socialist Action, and the Communist Party are participating in preparations for the April 27 demonstration against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Seven official slogans including "Withdraw U.S. Troops Now," "End Canada's Complicity," and "Stop All Bombing of Vietnam" have been adopted.

Speakers at the city hall, where the march will begin, will be Dave Barrett, NDP MLA, and Sue Claus, representing the April 27 Youth Committee Against the War in Vietnam. Alderman Harry Rankin will chair the rally at the city hall. The popular folk-rock band "The United Empire Loyalists" will provide entertainment.

The march will end at the courthouse. Chairman of the rally there will be trade union leader Tom Clarke. Rabbi John Sherwood will speak. The keynote speaker will be NDP leader T. C. Douglas. A representative of the Voice of Women is also being invited to speak.

The demonstration has been planned by the Steering Committee of the Vancouver Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The Steering Committee is chaired by Prof. Henry Rosenthal and includes Paddy Neale, secretary of the Vancouver Labor Council.

Building actions for the march included a meeting for Leonard Levy, vice-president of the 500,000 member Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and chairman of the Labor Assembly for Peace in the U.S. He spoke at the Labor Temple. Two showings of Felix Greene's "Inside North Vietnam" were held the week of the march. Chairman of the film showing was NDP MLA Alex MacDonald.

The U.B.C. Teacher's Committee also sponsored an ad in the daily papers the week before the march.

Thirty thousand pieces of literature were distributed advertising the march.



BERLIN DEMONSTRATORS. 20,000 youth from all over Europe demonstrated in West Berlin Feb. 18 in support of the Vietnamese revolution. Marchers carried photographs of Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh, as well as Rosa Luxembourg (left) and Karl Liebknecht (right), martyred leaders of the German revolution of 1918.

# Sentenced for His Views

by Richard Dumont

MONTREAL — Protests are mounting in Québec against the vicious sentence of life imprisonment handed down April 5 against Pierre Vallières, leader of the neo-FLQ, following his conviction on a charge of non-capital murder.

Vallières was charged with complicity in the death of a secretary in the strike-bound La Grenade shoe factory in 1966, when a bomb exploded forcing closure of the plant. The workers had been on strike for union recognition for over a year, but police protection of scabs had allowed the plant to continue operations. A trial in the fall of 1966 found ten members of the Front de Libération Québécois (Québec Liberation Front) guilty of the bombing. They received sentences averaging three and a half years each.

The 28-year old Vallières and his political associate, Charles Gagnon, were arrested in New York in September, 1966, while conducting a hunger strike at the United Nations in support of their accused FLQ comrades. Deported to Canada four months later, they were not brought to trial until late February this year.

Although they had prepared their defense together, the court arbitrarily decided to separate the cases and try Vallières first. The charge: having provoked illegal acts leading to the death of the La Grenade secretary by his writings, his words, his attitudes or otherwise. Although he was clearly being tried for his political views and acts, Vallières' request that he be treated as a polit-

ical prisoner was denied by the court, which insisted he be tried as a common criminal.

The prosecution's attempt to prove that Vallières was directly responsible for the La Grenade bombing was severely set back when its key witness, Serge Demers, who is already serving time for the explosion, charged that his previous statements to police that Vallières had supervised the bombing had been extracted only under pressure and intimidation by the cops. Vallières, he said, had not been informed of the plans, and "was opposed to violence because Quebec wasn't yet ready for it."

The prosecution then confined its case to citing long extracts from tracts, documents and letters written by Vallières and his political associates purporting to show that he had "incited" others to blow up the plant. In refutation, Vallières, who conducted his own defence, called to the witness stand many leading Ouebec personalities and former associates from his chequered career in journalism and the socialist movement. Figures like René Lévesque, CNTU leader Marcel Pépin, Gérard Pelletier, former RIN vicepresident Andrée Ferretti and Pierre La Grenade, grandson of the owner of the shoe factory, testified that they had read Vallières' revolutionary socialist writings but had not been incited thereby to commit acts of violence.

An editorial in the current issue of the Montreal journal *La Lutte Ouvrière*, which reflects the views of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,

states that "all Canadians interested in justice and political freedom must protest" Vallières' sentence Pointing to the nature of the accusation, La Lutte Ouvrière says: "He is accused not of committing a particular act, but for his political opinions. . . This is a threat to all Oue bécois. That a person can be prosecuted for manslaughter because he dared express his political criticism of the present system and to discuss how to fight it, means that any socialist or trade unionist can be arrested for a crime committed by another. For having dared to challenge this system which practices genocide in Vietnam, is one liable to undergo years of prison as . . . a murderer?"

The Committee to Aid the Vallières-Gagnon Group has issued an appeal for funds to pay the costs of the trials and Vallières' forthcoming appeal. Contributions may be sent to the committee at 622 ave. Outremont, Montréal 8.

#### Contact us

IN MONTREAL
La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,
17 Ontario St. W..
Montréal 18, Qué.

Montréal 18, Qué. IN OTTAWA

Workers Vanguard, Station D, Box 2165 IN TORONTO

League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St.

IN EDMONTON League for Socialist Action, 11129-89th Ave.

IN VANCOUVER League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville #147



POLITICAL PRISONERS, Pier Vallières (left) has just been ser tenced to life imprisonment for lowing Montreal trial on trumped up charge of complicity in bom death of a secretary in the strike bound La Grenade shoe factor in 1966. Both judge and prosect tion made clear that Vallière conviction and savage sentence were not for any criminal act but on basis of his revolutionar socialist convictions. The trial have drawn widespread protest from many prominent Quebe personalities. Vallières politica associate Charles Gagnon (right is still awaiting trial on sam charges. Vallières is planning ap peal. Story next issue.

# Cross Country With the NDP

The socialist perspective expressed in the first issue of the federal NDY's bi-monthly, Confrontations, is further developed in the second issue, just off the press. A front page polemic with the "rationalizers" for the "ruling class" deals with the reality of the Canadian class struggle. Other articles cover the corporate nature of the university and the Carter report on taxation

A full page on the Latin American liberation struggle contains an article, "Guatemala: Another Vietnam?" by Rev. Blase Bonpane, a priest who joined the Guatemala revolutionary movement; an ad from a Cuban publication illustrating the grip of U.S. imperialism on Latin America; and a photograph of Che Guevara's handwriting calling for "two, three, many Vietnams" which, the caption underneath says, is the "agenda for our generation."

The NDP and NDY leadership seem to have decided that publications like Confrontations must be tolerated if youth are to be attracted to the party. The April issue of the federal NDP publication New Democratic Party News says the first 25,000 copies of the first issue of Confrontations were well received In the April New Democrat, Ontario NDY president Terry Morley challenges the NDP to build a serious youth movement. And the March issue of the Saskatchewan NDY's Candor carries an article on student power by Harry Kopyto, an executive council member of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, a revolutionary socialist youth organization founded by youth previously expelled by the NDY for their socialist views. The article appeared originally in the YS/LJS magazine, Young Socialist \* \* \* \*

New Democrats will recall the protest raised in the party by its failure to field a candidate against Tory leader Stanfield in the Colchester-Hants by-election last October. Now, in Quebec, a group of NDP members and supporters have expressed dismay at recent statements of Quebec NDP leader Robert Cliche. Cliche has declared that the NDP might contest only one of three forthcoming Quebec by-elections. Terming such a stance in-

jurious and a reversal of party policy, they are appealing to party members to oppose it.

"Such a move, if carried out, would do serious harm to the future of the party," declared the group's spokesman, Arthur Young, who is an NDP member and editor of the socialist journal La Lutte Ouvrière. "People will start to conclude that the NDP is not a serious opponent of the boss parties if it allows them to win these two seats unopposed. The task is to make the NDP a more effective vehicle for the mass of the Quebec people against the present government. To this end, we have pushed for the party to enter the provincial arena and this course is under study by the party. Yet Mr. Cliche declares that the party will move towards less, not more activity, arbitrarily reversing the consideration of provincial action. We do not accept this declaration by Mr. Cliche as party policy until the ranks have had their say."

A big step forward was taken by the Vancouver NDP when an April 6 meeting voted to field a slate of NDP candidates in the 1968 Vancouver civic elections. Socialists in Vancouver are already responding to the challenge. At an April 8 meeting of the Young Socialists, Jean Rands, 1966 mayoralty candidate of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialist Forum, welcome the decision.

"The presentation of an NDP slate on the party label and with a clear program would give the citizens of Vancouver an opportunity to elect a civic government which is responsible to the working people of Vancouver and their organizations," she said. Urging the provincial executive to endorse the decision, she stressed "It is the responsibility of socialists to press for the development of this slate."

In reply to a question, Miss Rands added that if the NDP provincial executive again failed to take its municipal responsibility seriously, the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists would be prepared to present a socialist alternative to the people of Vancouver in the city elections.

by J. Connolly

# Vancouver NDP Slate Comes Under Attack

by Phil Courneyeur

VANCOUVER — The Communist Party of Vancouver, true to form, announced this April that it is opposed to the NDP entering municipal elections with an NDP slate.

On April 5 a delegated conference of Vancouver NDPers decided to run a slate in the fall elections. Reacting swiftly to an L.S.A. press release supporting the NDP decision. the CP issued a statement which read in part: ". . . we question the tactical merits of contesting elections on a partisan basis. There is a healthy tradition in municipal politics in British Columbia to contest elections on the basis of issues rather than party label, notwithstanding the Liberal and Conservative NPA machine's role in the elections."

The "non-partisan" approach of the CP lays bare their phony claim to represent the interests of the working class. Is this not the Liberal-Tory line to hide the class colors in civic politics behind the cover of such alliances as "Non-Partisan Association" or "TEAM"?

CP opposition to the NDP and

to labor's formal support to the NDP surfaced in another guise in cently. In Port Alberni, George M Knight, formerly 2nd vice-preside of Local 1-85 of the I.W.A., heads up an opposition slate to the local I.W.A. leadership. The main plan of this slate was opposition to the union's support of the NDP. M Knight, who is also a city alderma and a representative "of all " people," is one of the "outstanding progressive figures" supported the CP. Incumbent McKnight a his anti-NDP clique were sound defeated, in spite of a tremendo backlog of genuine grievano against the right wing leadership the local. The question of suppo for the NDP was the decisive iss in the election.

Civic elections are political and partisan. The question in front a working people is: whose political will win out at city hall, who party and whose interests? To NDP, the party of the trade union movement, bears the full responsibility to represent the working people at city hall just as at the federand provincial level.

#### BUILDING THE SOCIALIST PRESS-

# Let's Go Over the Top!

by Joan Newbigging

Over one thousand newspapers are published in Canada. Now admittedly they're not all churning out front page spreads of Trudeau being chased by his fans, nor are they all printing vicious attacks on the anti-Vietnam war movement; yet, taken as a whole, they do a pretty offective job of presenting us with all sorts of irrelevant and distorted information.

But what else might we expect? Aren't the newspapers one of the most efficient means of moulding public opinion? And aren't they owned, controlled and manipulated in the interests of the ruling class?

The Canadian people can rely on few of the hundreds of newspapers published here to provide them with honest reporting. They can rely on only two — the Workers Vanguard and La Lutte Ouvrière — to provide them with a clear direction and analysis that stands firmly in their interests.

In the coming year we want to build and expand our publications—to publish more pamphlets, to put out more inserts like the one we have in this issue. We want to be in a position to meet the growing need for more socialist literature that has been generated by the growth of the anti-war movement, the trade union movement and the NDP. But we can only do this if we get over the top of our 1968 La Lutte/Vanguard Publications Drive.

With one more week to go, we have received pledges from our friends and supporters of enough money to put us over the top of our \$12,500 objective. We have received \$6,533 of this amount in cash. We have every confidence — and this has been reinforced by the enthusiastic reports we have received from across the country — that we will get over the top. But we need your help to do this! Fill in the form below and send it in along with your donation.

#### I Want to Help

Enclosed is my contribution of \$

NAME

STREET

CITY ZONE PROV.

Vanguard/La Lutte Publications Drive,
1 Cumberland St.,
Toronto 5, Ont.

#### **Cuba's Progress is Married by Problems**

From Workers Vanguard—May 13, 1968 by John Wilson

Harry Ring's speech to the Toronto LSA's annual May Day banquet on the progress and problems of the Cuban revolution gave all of those present new insight into the realities of the Western hemisphere's first socialist revolution.

He stated that the principal accomplishment of the revolution is "in the field of overall, long-range socialist planning."

"This country, which suffered for 400 years under foreign domination and oppression, during the past nine years has been reorganizing itself, and doing it on a rational, scientific basis — the only basis upon which it is possible for a so-called underdeveloped country to advance— a planned, nationalized, socialist basis."

#### Agriculture

Ring explained that in broad terms the Cubans are concentrating their efforts on further development of their agriculture, particularly sugar production, and on the development of related industrial areas.

He expanded on the huge and in many respects impressive and inspiring agricultural program underway. He told of the "Che Guevara Brigade", composed of youth who are travelling the entire island clearing land. Tens of thousands of youth are working on the former Isle of Pines, now renamed the Isle of Youth, and in a few years they expect to be producing more fruit than the state of Israel.

The Cubans have built an university city where 24,000 youth are studying agronomy. And this is just one of a "vast network" of similar projects going on. Ring said the Cubans are laying the basis for "one of the most advanced agricultural systems in the world" and declared that "this kind of thing can be done only in a country which has abolished capitalism."

#### **Education**

In the field of education, there are 200,000 scholarship students, starting with the sixth grade, all of whose needs are provided for by the government.

Another big achievement is free public medical care, including a significant program of preventive medicine. Since 1964 there has been not one case of polio in the entire country. Ring said that when he was in Cuba in March, in one three-day period every child in Cuba under the age of four was given Salk vaccination.

Ring described how the revolution is changing social relations in Cuba. In particular, women are winning their rights, and while some prejudice remains, progress in this area

is impressive. Free nursery schools enable women to fully participate in the work force. In some cases women are entering occupations in Cuba that would be closed to them in North American society.

#### **Social Relations**

Ring explained that relations between children and their parents are also changing. Participation in the agricultural program and wide use of boarding schools (in which children are placed only with the consent of the parents) are creating more independence and self-reliance. While some prejudices may remain with some of the older people, racial discrimination has been abolished. Ring stated that he could detect no expressions of prejudice in the new generation.

Cuba today faces large and serious problems, he said, the central one being scarcity. There are serious shortages of food, clothing, housing and general commodities. No desperation, no hunger — in marked contrast to every other Latin American country.

But "life is hard in Cuba." The agricultural program is in many respects a "forced march." Students and workers work in the countryside from 45 to 90 days each year. There is a serious problem of overwork, especially among the most conscious revolutionaries.

Ring stated that the economic difficulties were mainly responsible for the flow of immigration to the U.S.

There was a change in the political climate since he had been there in 1960. Some of the revolutionary euphoria had dissipated due to the problems besetting the country, and some layers, while supporters of the revolution, were somewhat apathetic. But there is a very large element of conscious revolutionaries, which includes the vast majority of the youth.

However, Ring said, the existence of these problems nine years after the revolution "in no way expresses any lack in socialism."

Most of the problems are beyond Cuba's control, such as bad weather, and the abysmally low price of sugar on the world market.

Another factor is the criminal policy of the ruling Soviet bureaucrats to put economic pressure on Cuba to change its revolutionary foreign policy to that of "peaceful coexistence." Ring described watching a Soviet cargo ship unloading

#### second-hand lumber.

The Soviet Union also has refused to increase the supply of oil to Cuba, despite growing need. Cuban newspapers reprinted, without comment, articles from *Pravda* and *Izvestia* boasting of new records in Soviet oil production. China has pursued a similar policy because the Cubans "will not bow down to the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung."

But the major difficulty is the criminal economic blockade by the United States. Ring commented, referring to the U.S. threats to penalties against "free world" ships which might dock in Cuba: "George Orwell, if he were alive today, would find it difficult to compete with the United States of America."

Ring said that there are also problems of the Cubans' own making, but that, as a partisan of the revolution, he felt he had a responsibility to say what these are.

The chief internal problem is the lack of a **structured** workers' democracy. Ring felt this to be a contributory factor to some of the difficulties facing Cuba. The most crucial factor in solving many problems is the participation of the majority. Ring emphasized that while the structures which would facilitate this best were lacking, Cuba was much freer and more democratic than any of the other anticapitalist countries.

He saw the nationalization of small businesses primarily as a move to counter black marketeers who often used these "hole-in-the-wall" operations as fronts. However he foresaw some problems administering this multiplicity of small enterprises.

Ring said it was completely false to compare the trial of Escalante and others with the infamous Moscow Trials. These trials were no frameup. Escalante & Co. collaborated with Soviet and East European agents in bringing pressure to bear on the Cuban government to alter its revolutionary and internationalist foreign policy. But while defending the conviction and sentencing of Escalante and his cronies for their acts, Ring was critical of the conception that forming factions within the party was a "crime." He said this is not a Leninist norm, quite the contrary.

Ring declared, however, that despite all the problems and pressures, the Cuban people as a whole stand firm in their commitment to international revolutionary struggle and that this is one of the most significant and inspiring aspects of the revolution. In all the time he was in Cuba not one person expressed serious disagreement with the revolutionary foreign policy of the revolution.

"These are a revolutionary people who are determined, no matter what the cost, the sacrifice, no matter what the risk, they are going to do everything they can to aid the world revolutionary struggle and they are making **an impact** on the world revolutionary struggle."

Ring mentioned in conclusion the struggle of the students at Columbia University in New York. When the cops broke into the building, he said, they found pictures of Malcolm X and Che Guevara on the walls.

"Che Guevara is today an international revolutionary symbol. But Che Guevara is also—and don't forget this—a Cuban revolutionary symbol. He's a symbol of everything about the Cuban revolution that makes it worth fighting for."

(Vancouver)

(As clarified by the E.C., Tuesday, May 21/68)

- l. We argue at all times the principle of independent working class political action and for the development of a labor party with a clear-cut socialist program. In Canada we have an orientation of support for the NDP as the party of the trade union movement.
- 2. We have consistently argued that the NDP should enter the municial electoral field to confront the boss control of city hall with a labor slate and an alternative to big business control that has a real possibility of winning.
- 3. We are opposed to the CP line of broad civic alliances of rate-payers groups, unions, progressives, and sundry. We are for labor political action and class politics.
- 4. The current dilemma facing the left wing in Vancouver is a product of the coming togetherof the CP line and that of the right wing leadership of the NDP. Both are opposed to the NDP entering civic politics, both for their own reasons.

The Communist Party yet imagines itself as an alternative, competitor, and "equal" of the NDP. Its orientation towards a "democratic realignment in Canada" is based on opposition to the irreversable tendency of the unions to identify even more thoroughly with the NDP as the class party of labor.

The right wing have sundry reasons for opposing NDP civic elections campaigns. First, money. More important, the provincial caucus is hostile because they don't want to antagonize possible areas of sup or the interpretation of the provincial campaigns. They fear what is actually possible—an NDP victory in the city, because they are aware of the mishmash of problems they will face and of the inadequacy of the NDP program—as it is—to solve these problems. They agree in general with the CP that "good men" representing "all the people" should be supported for city hall.

5. On top of this common a proach between the CP and the right wing of the IDP is the questions of Rankin. Rankin has the support of wide lavers of the working class in Vancouver, raises class issues in his program, has the support of unions including the Vancouver Labor Council. At this point, he maintains his opposition to joining the NDP, and is an advocate of the CP broad civic alliance which would, of course, consist in the main of NDP ers and labor-backed CP ers such as Frank Kenre'y (Kennedy is head of the VLC municipal affairs, committee).

The most forceful argument the CP has in pushing its non-class alliance is Rankin (also Jim McFarlane: School Board). While we are in opposition to their position, any move of the MDP into civic politics this year must take into account Rankins strong position.

6. The primary issue to argue in the NDP is the principle of the NDP entering municipal politics as a party. The federal election call will more than likely shelve this issue for some time, but our comrades should be raising this issue wherever appropriate in the NDP, with the best contacts, and in club meetings where civic issues come up.

The right wing of the party - buttressed by the CP presence - will

argue against this saying that MDP'ers can run on successful slates, such as the Burnaby Citizens! Association (BCA). In Burnaby NDP'ers ... have a majority on the municipal council. And yet, they are at loggerheads; MDP councillors accuse the MDP mayor (who has now resigned from the NDP) of dictatorship, etc. None of these people is responsible to the MDP or any working class organization for their actions and policies.

On the question of Rankin and the Vancouver Labor Council position our argument is straightforward. Once the MDP decides to ( . field a slate, then the way is open for above board, party supervised discussions with the Vancouver Labor Council and all trade unions supporting the MDP for the working out of an MDP slate that can defeat big business at city hall.

We should argue that Rankin be invited to join the NDP. And if he refuses, there is no problem in working out a slate that includes Rankin as an endorsed individual (the same would apply to McFarlane).

The speediest path to bring labor to power at City Hall is to win the fight in the NDP that the party enter a slate this fall; to defend the decision of the Vancouver Constituency Associations (CAS) o enter the civic field.

Overriding considerations for us are:

(1) we want an NDP slate at the next elections that can win and is responsible to the party and the trade unions supporting the NDP.

(2) we are for a conference convened by the NDP and the VLC to which all NDP CAS and all unions supporting the NDP will be invited to determine candidates and program for the fall civic elections.

(3) we have to eppose the CP line of a progressive alliance - particularly in the VLC and in those unions where their formulations have been taken up.

The major struggle is yet to prevent the right wing leadership of the NDP from scuttling the Vancouver area resolution to go Civic. While the election cuts off the possibility of meetings and resolutions on this question, we should be laying basis now to intervene when the demand for a civic slate again becomes active.

(LSA/LSO)

1968

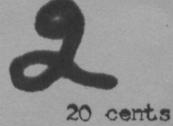
# BULLETIN

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Some Developments in the NDP.
by J. Connolly.

(My 27, 1968)

Some Criticisms of the Political Resolution, by A. Engler.



The 1966 convention resolution, The NDP Hardens, stressed three points:

1) The NDP, as Canada's labour party is more and more developing its working class roots and entrenching itself as the focal point for independent working class political action. 2) The reformist program and parliamentary-oriented electoral structure of the NDP is a finished product under an entrenched leadership with its base in the labour bureaucracy and that the overall direction of the party in program and structure had, in this sense, "hardened" 3) The radicalizing of layers of youth and workers outside the NDP due to the advance of the world revolution, in the context of the drying up of possibilities for intervention in and recruitment from the NDP meant that much of the activity required to build the revolutionary socialist cadre in this country would have to take place outside the NDP through "open" work in the next period.

The 1967 plenum resolution, Our Work in the NDP, pointed out that on the level of practical activity, the movement had made an error of "overcorrection" in response to points two and three by neglecting to maintain consistently contacts with the NDP through routine riding work, the anti-war work and initiatives and probes. The document warned that to succumb to the pressures of the reformist climate would mean to reject the possibilities that would periodically arise in the NDP and inevitably lead to a serious political disorientation of the movement.

Certain developments in the NDP in the past period have underlined the timeliness of the plenum warning and are worth reviewing. These concern Vietnam, the NDP youth, the working class base, the federal election campaign, the indicated success of the cross-Canada Vanguard sub drive, and the socialist forces in the NDP.

1) Vietnam

The inability of the NDP leadership to seal the party off from the impact of international developments is most clearly revealed on the Vietnam issue. In the face of rank and file sentiment at the 1967 Federal Convention, the leadership appeared to settle accounts with the anti-war movement by declaring its intentions to stay out of it and to echo the McCarthy-Kennedy-Pearson negotiations position. In a short year and a half the attempt to keep the party out of serious politics has crumbled.

Three sections of the NDP - British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan as well as a number of riding associations in Ontario, and the federal New Democratic Youth, have adopted Vietnam positions calling for withdrawal of U.S. troops and an end to Canadian complicity. The leadership has felt compelled to expose openly on the parliamentary level the economic and military complicity of the Liberal government by calling for an embargo on arms sales and the breaking of the defense sharing agreement. Although this has not meant a willingness to organize the tens of thousands of NDP members into extraparliamentary action against the war, NDP organizations on the local level have tended to become involved directly. For example, in Vancouver most of the ridings send delegates to the anti-war co-ordinating committee and in Toronto the Vietnam Mobilization Committee has had access to NDP speakers, sponsors and literature tables in committee rooms and meetings. Party publications have recently picked up the issue, for example, in B.C., reprinting Stephen Lewis speech to the Ontario legislature; in Saskatchewan, reprinting the recent statement of the NDP federal council. During the April 27 demonstrations, prominent NDP spokesmen addressed anti-war rallies across the country in centres like Vancouver, Edmonton and Toronto. In B.C. the provincial convention adjourned to hold its own solidarity demonsration. In other words, the NDP to one degree or another, though overall in a totally inadequate way, has done what the leadership declared it would not do.

2) NDP Youth: Page 2

SOME DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NDP

as they apply to our day to day work.

The past period has seen a number of significant developments in the New Democratic Youth - significant, precisely because the NDP youth scarcely exists in any section of the country due to the hostility and fear of the NDP leadership to a serious and viable youth movement and the subsequent destruction of the youth movement through the expulsion of the socialist left wing - the last wave coming in the spring of 1967.

The most important development is the production by the federal New Democratic Youth, with the apparent blessing and subsidy of the NDP leadership, of a bi-monthly, Canada-wide newspaper, Confrontations, carrying many of the political positions of those socialists previously expelled from the NDP-NDY. This follows the election of some individuals to the leadership with a revolutionary outlook.

In a number of areas, collaboration of revolutionary socialists with members of the NDY has occurred and at least not publicly opposed by the NDP leadership. Some examples are the recent participation of NDYers in LSA May Day affairs in Ottawa and Edmonton, the signing of a statement initiated by the Young Socialists in Vancouver in solidarity with the French general strike by a leading B.C. NDYer, and the reprinting with full credits of an article from YSF by a leading member of the YS/LJS in the Prairie YND paper Candor. A more dramatic example was the public support given by leading NDYers to the LSA-LSO candidate against Stanfield in the Colchester-Hants by election in Nova Scotia.

Here, too, in a modest way, the impact of the world situation on the youth has had an impact on the labour party forces in this country, forcing them to give at least lip service to the developing radicalization of the youth.

3) Working class base:

· 100 /178

The Trans

by J. Connolly.

The electoral support of the NDP in the urban working class areas has further deepened. This was dramatically indicated in the last Ontario provincial elections, with such approximate figures as 45% to 48% NDP support in the Toronto-Hamilton area, 40% in Sudbury, 80% in Oshawa and 75% in Peterboro. Recognition by the NDP leadership of the decisive importance of this base to the party has been reflected in the NDP press with analogies to the British Labour Party. It has been reflected also in moves in key areas like Toronto and Vancouver towards challenging the bourgeois control of the cities through declared intentions of the NDP to enter civic elections on the label. This has meant further attempts to strengthen the labour base with new bureaucratic structures like the one recently developed in Toronto between the Labour Council and the NDP Area Council. It is reflected also in the new Provincial Secretary of the B.C. NDP, who previously specialized in building the NDP labour base in the Toronto area.

A taste of what this can mean is the relatively aggressive posture of the NDP against the Socred government's compulsory arbitration Bill 33 in British Columbia. Although the issue was soft-pedaled in the recently-won Vancouver South provincial byelection, it is generally recognized that it was a major issue, and points to the kind of pressures more and more affecting the NDP. Another example of this is the situation in Hamilton, where the best currents in the labour movement are deeply in the NDP. Here, the president of the labour council, who is a top functionary in the Steelworkers' union and chairman of the NDP area council, epitomizing the reformism of the NDP leadership and the labour bureaucracy, has failed at least twice to get the nomination in his riding as a result of the efforts of undeclared oppositional forces who complain that he is "not a worker".

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In Quebec the growing strength and combativity of the working class, indicated in the transit workers and teachers strikes is more and more compelling NDP forces and the unions toward some form of Quebec Labour Party.

4) The Federal Election Campaign:

It is not an overstatement to say that the NDP is carrying somewhat of a left campaign in this election. Despite Douglas' modest projection of 44 seats in the House of Commons, the very fact that the NDP is contesting all seats across the country poses more clearly than ever before the question of working class power in this country and in that sense gives the campaign a left orientation. This is further reinforced by the reaction of the bourgeoisie to their parliamentary crisis, which has led them to respond with such spectacles as a kissing candidate for Prime Minister. The contrast with the NDP, which is stressing the housing problem, inflation, taxation, etc.—in other words, class issues—also gives the campaign a leftward motion. In addition Douglas has at times interjected Canadian complicity in Vietnam and a general circulation leaflet, What is the NDP?, is being pushed at least in British Columbia which stresses the NDP's roots in the CCF, its socialist and popular character as a party of the working people. This leaflet accompanies the local leaflets dealing with the personalities of the candidates.

Although the campaign is no great departure from other campaigns and is in the framework of the reformist approach which tends to blur the class nature of the party, it does illustrate the effect of the intensification of the class struggle on the NDP, even when it strives to be at its reformist and opportunist best. A lasting effect of the pressures in this campaign will probably be a further strengthening of the motion of the NDP towards Quebec provincial politics because of its concentration on the Quebec federal seats and the subsequent effect of a Quebec Labour Party on the NDP as a whole.

5) Vanguard Subscription Drive:

It seems clear now, one-third way into the cross-Canada Vanguard sub drive that it will be a big success. When a final evaluation is made one of the most important aspects that will be noted is the relative ease in getting subscriptions in good NDP areas. The figures will show that, by and large, the one thousand or more new subscriptions will be based in the urban working class areas which are more and more developing conscious NDP support. This fact alone is an important indicator of the kind of period opening before us and the real significance of the loop subscriptions which goes beyond the simple total on the scoreboard.

6) Socialist currents, literature and issues:

Although the socialist forces have remained isolated and have not gained in strength there have been some developments here worth commenting on. The most noteworthy was the open discussion on socialism which took place in the organ of the Alberta New Democratic Party, the Democrat. The discussion, reported in the Workers' Vanguard, lasted several months, involved top people in the Alberta leadership, covered the most fundamental issues of reformism versus fundamental change in some depth and was carried over the opposition of the party leader. It was in Alberta also, where te party leadership and machine is not so sophisticated and firm, that an open member of the LSA was permitted membership in the YND.

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Despite the fact that the Socialist Caucus is more of a shell representing what may be possible in the future, its members have been able to sell its literature with some success at NDP conventions and assemblies in an atmosphere relatively free of redbaiting. Through limited organization and some sensitivity the caucus has raised issues on convention and council

floors which have tapped genuine feelings on the part of the ranks such as the uneasiness over the leadership's passivity on Vietnam, its insensitivity and hostility to party democracy and general cowardice before the power and aggressiveness of the capitalist class.

Relating to the current sub drive has been the recent excellent sales of the Workers' Vanguard at the B.C. and Alberta conventions where the atmosphere of proscription should have its greatest effect. Another example is the sales of the Vanguard pamphlet, The Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions at the past Canadian Labour Congress convention.

General Comments: The Decoration and Audit and Audit and Audit at the Land

The above summary is not meant to indicate any profound or real change in direction or forces within the MDP. In general, the "hardening" described in the 1966 convention resolution and reaffirmed in the 1967 plenum resolution, has continued. That the leadership is firmly in the saddle of the party organization and reformist direction cannot be questioned. The purpose of this report is to indicate the possibilities for our intervention that exist within this framework. We should ask ourselves if we have in fact taken full advantage of them.

It is correct to say that our connections with the NDP have been firmed up and that if this process is not yet complete it should be by the end of the federal election campaign. On the whole, the movement has responded to the warning of the 1967 plenum resolution and attempted to correct its overreaction to the conditions in the NDP.

panies the local leaflets dealing with the personalities of the candidates.

What this effort has demonstrated is that in this period the degree of motion in the NDP is almost directly proportional to the amount of consistent work we do. What is most significant about the examples in the above report is that in most cases they have developed to a large degree as a result of our intervention. This is most evident on the Vietnam issue where our movement has consistently taken initiatives and occurs to some degree in each of the other examples. We have found that the political level of a riding, the ability to pass resolutions, in fact whether or not a riding or a union local has any serious political life at all, almost entirely depends on us. If we don't play a consistent role, little or nothing happens. If we do, there is motion.

The Vietnam issue is also a good example of the best way to intervene. We consistently raised the issue on the floor, sold Vietnam literature around the ridings, attempted to develop New Democrats as anti-war activists in and outside the party and tried to produce a climate where we could send resolutions to NDP conventions. A good deal of the emphasis of this work was on the necessity for the party to act - to mobilize its members. Hence, the resolution calling for a standing committee on Vietnam. The passing of such a resolution through a party body gave us a hook on which to hang proposals for action and to justify the intervention in the NDP by the growing anti-war movement with appeals to local leaders and rank and file members.

This form of intervention, around programmatic and action-directed resolutions can be used on big issues like opposition to anti-labour legislation such as Bill 33, all the way to the necessity for riding organizations to meet frequently and regularly. The point to remember is that not only are results possible, but that as members or supporters of the NDP, projecting ourselves in the long run as an alternative leadership, this is our responsibility. We can't claim to be leaders or build anything by passively accepting the NDP as it is on any level.

On the other hand there has been a phenomenon observable in a number of areas which tends to indicate a failing on our part in another direction.

There has been a general tendency for socialists and militants in the trade unions and the NDP, who are not in our movement, to drift away from the NDP - not towards us, but into either dead end inactivity, passive, somewhat sectarian criticism, or simple demoralization. This has occurred around the Socialist Caucus in key areas like Toronto and in other areas like Sarnia. It has also occurred in the trade union movement, where we have had some difficulties in Toronto in involving trade union militants in caucus formations in the NDP and their unions around political action committees. Some difficulties have also been experienced in Vancouver where militants in the Vancouver Labour Council have tended to throw up their hands in despair at the opportunism of the NDP leadership and develop a somewhat sectarian hostility to the party as a whole. These examples contrast to the Hamilton situation, where apparently trade union militants and socialists have not responded to the hostile pressures by getting out.

This negative reaction by militants and socialists is unfortunate. In the face of the openings for intervention described in the above summary it is even surprising. What it seems to indicate is that not enough motion exists in the NDP to allow these workers to overcome their short term results, now-or-else perspective.

The Hamilton example demonstrates that the power and hegemony of the labor movement in the Hamilton NDP gives the NDP left wing a concrete example of the meaning and possible direction of the party. Our theoretical appreciation of the NDP is demonstrated in that area in the everyday life of the party. In other areas socialists and militants cannot get such a concrete schooling in our orientation without our direct intervention. To them the real nature of the party is much more abstract.

This brings to the foreground a serious weakness in our NDP work. We have generally failed consciously to go about the vital job of politicizing in a rounded way the workers that have responded to one degree or another to the need to win the NDP to socialism. (If it was necessary for our movement to check our response to the hostile reformist pressures it must be all the more true for workers who do not have our understanding and appreciation of the NDP in all its ramifications.) We have tended to work with these workers too casually and timidly in the shadow of the "illegality" of the LSA and the possibility of an expulsion drive.

On the contrary, workers who consider themselves part of the NDP "left wing" should either be moving towards us with our conscious help or at the minimum developing a more rounded appreciation of the class forces in Canada and the NDP which can give them a long term and not a vulnerable short term perspective.

Concretely, this means we have to break out of the routine where we see trade union militants and NDP left wingers as casual "people we can work with" and see them more as potential revolutionary socialists as we do for example students or youthful workers. This means looking for and finding ways to politicize them - to teach them revolutionary socialism. They must have subscriptions to our literature as a matter of course. We must find ways to make our forums known to them and work to get them down on a fairly regular basis. Individual comrades should take the time to have serious discussions with these workers. For example, workers around the socialist caucus should be having discussions and evaluations of political developments which would in fact be classes in revolutionary socialism, formal or informal.

. Page 5 . . On the other band there has been a phenomenon observable in a numi The ways and means to carry out this perspective shouldn't be hard to find. For example during the campaign against the last series of expulsions from the YND an attempt was made to salvage socialists reacting negatively to the expulsions by attempting to involve LSAers and the Vanguard openly in the campaign activities in order to draw them to an alternate and more profound form of socialist action. Such attempts should be evaluated and others worked out. If our connections with the labour party are to be more firm, vital and political and not simply a mechanical formality and if we are going to be able to take advantage of the political life that does exist within the NDP, then we will have to apply ourselves consciously to this kind of work. melandroom up their hands in despair at the opportunism virus and od viritation matriadose des Vancouver, May 27, 1968, and 10 virus and od virus and the virus and trade union willtants and socialists have not -00 ponded to the hostile preseures by Reiting out. This negative reaction by militants and socialists is unfortunate. In the face of the spenings for intervention described in the above summery it is even surprising, What it seems to indicate is that not enough motion extate in the MUP to allow these workers to overcome their short term results, now-or-else perepoctive. The Hamilton example demonstrates that the power and heremony of the labor movement in the Mamiliton NDP gives the NDP left wing a condicte example of the no modification of the party. Our theoretical appreciation of the NDP is demonstrated in that area in the everyday life of the party. In and tender company and some dear domino e the thin bus a tettatode a some med to and to equipment the one of the real temperation. To thee the real mature of the , . toggiteds error deten et virg This brings to the foreground a serious waskness in our unp work. We have generally failed consciously to go about the vital job of goldiciaing in a rounded say the workers that have responded to one degree or another to the need to win the NDP to socialism. (If it was necessary for our movement to check our response to the hostile reformist presentes it must be all the more true nt som end to not determine bus guithus derebnu rue eved den ob eriw arezirow rei all its ramifications.) We have tended to work with those workers too casually and timidly in the shadow of the "illegality" of theish and the possibility of an expulsion drive. On the contrary, workers who consider themselves part of the ADF "Left wing" should sither be moving towards us with our conscious help or at the shaned at accord seals of the nollation of the class forces in Canada and the MDP which can sive them a long term and not a vulnerable short term rerspective. cos our oraclely, this means we have to break out of the routine where we see work men ow elegopen femence as exemply fold the administration moters who can work nol of sweet stelleloes valuativioven islanding as enom medt ees bad widtw. example students of youthful wirkers. This means looking for and finding ways to politition as them revolutionary socialism. They must have of exem bull Jerm eW .esquee to resten a sa cruterest I find ways to make our forums known to them and work to get them down on a lairly regular

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# SOME CRITICISMS OF THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION boined test end di old asina by A. Engler anisa est dibu neve andal dad bus est nishinan od danone don delega end anisa est dibu neve andal dad bus

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The main objective of the draft political resolution is to pose the possibilities for the Canadian revolution in the context of a growing crisis for world capitalism, and the growth of the revolutionary movement on a world scale. It is designed as a basic pamphlet for the whole next period. It was not meant to be a detailed analysis of specific problems we face today either in the trade unions, anti-war work, or the NDP. wages went up 1.4%, and the cost of living

rose J. 78. 1940 saw an explosion Although I agree with the objectives of the PC in drafting the document, and agree with the main line of the document, I feel that it is deficient in that it does not deal with the actual consciousness, of the working class in Canada, and the roots of that consciousness. It seems to me indisputable that Canadian workers are filled with illusions in the capacity of capitalism to grant reforms. These illusions are a product both of the protracted boom that capitalism has gone through on a world scale in the 1960's, and to the betrayals of the leadership of working class organizations. workers may have incressed their standard of living, but the class as a whole

It is not enough to say that "The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917 ushered in a era of continuing crisis and overall decline of capitalism as a world system." It is true that capitalism has been going

through a crisis since 1917. But at the same time it is important to note that capitalism since the Second World War has gone through an unprecedented boom. World capitalist trade has multiplied despite the shrinking of ite geographic area. The standard of living of the workers has undoubtedly been raised in the advanced capitalist countries. The explanation for this boom are given by revolutionary Marxist economists, particularly Mandel. We can project the dissipation of this boom in the near future. We are coming into a period when capitalism will not be able to grant the concessions -- as meagre as they have been -- to the working classes of the imperialist countries. We do not have to gloss over the long boom we are just coming out of in fact a few paragraphs of explanation help us explain the nature of the capitalist system, and make our projection of revolutionary possibilities much more real.

Likewise we do not have to gloss over the fact that workers have been able to increase their standard of living in the last period. It is not correct to say, Whatever increased advantages imperialist superprofits have given the Canadian bourgeoisie, they have not gone to increase the standard of living of Canadian workers. So unionized workers, that sector of the work force

Mandel, while modifying some of Lenin's conclusions in Imperialism says "Lenin is certainly correct in stating that the colonial surplus-profit injected into the economy of certain capitalist countries created big 'reserves' which explain the general operation of bourgeois democracy. ""

In concrete terms, between 1949 and 1967 average weekly wages and salaries went up 110.5% and the cost of living index went up 50.2% Wage increases were clearly won. workers who have made the biggest gaitog sinc

It is true that workers have/nothing without struggle. It is also true that wage increases have not kept up with both the rising cost of living and productivity. In manufacturing real wages went up 49.1% and productivity went up 86.7% between 1949 and 1965. The Labour Gazette, in its April, 1968 issue, said that Labour Minister Nicholson said that during 1957-64 labor costs per unit of production rose by less than 3% whereas corporate profits per unit rose about 18%. Jed edd al di senotsacomen dueng of mailel regul

This proves that profits have been fantas tic in the last period, and that labor, even with its gains, has gotten not enough to maintain its relative share of the value it produces but has still got an absolute increase:

How tenacious have the struggles been. The base for the present trade union movement was laid in labor struggles in the immediate post—war years. In 1945 1,457,400 man days were lost in strikes. Average weekly wages went up 1.4%, and the cost of living rose 3.7%. 1946 saw an explosion 4,516,400 man days were lost. Average weekly wages went up an unpricedented 11.4%, but the cost of living rose 9.0%. In 1947, -- 2,397,300 man days were lost. Average weekly wages rose 10.7% but the cost of living shot up a staggering 14.4%. In those years it could certainly be said, "workers have sustained or in some areas raised (their standard of living) only at a snails pace, and only as the result of the most tenacious struggles." After the most impressive strike wave in Canadian history, 1948 wages were 25% higher than 1945 wages, and the cost of living index had risen 29.3%. A minority of workers may have increased their standard of living, but the class as a whole had less than before.

Even in those years, while the struggles were tenacious, they were still of a limited scope. In 1945, there were 2 days lost per trade union member. In 1946, the big strike year, 5.5 days were lost in strike per trade union member. In 1947, 2.5. The actual duration of strikes was longer with some strikes measured in months establishing patterns for other workers. But for the class as a whole the gains were made with relative ease. Between 1948 and 1965 there were only two years where more that two days were lost per unionist. In the last three years strikes have involved more workers. In 1965 the man days lost was 2,349,900. In 1966 it was 5,178.200—the most days lost ever. But since there were twice as many union members as in 1946 the days lost per man was 3. In 1967, 4,046,300 days were lost, and in the first quarter of 1968, 1,400,000 days have already been lost.

From 1965 to July 1967 average weekly wages went up 13.5% The cost of living index went up 8.1% In this new strike wave real wages have risen by 5%. This does not give a completely accurate picture of the results of trade union struggles. The wages of organized workers go up faster than non-union workers. In 1964 contracts in manufacturing gave wage increases of 5%. in 1965, 6.2%; and in 1966, the last year for which figures are available, 8.0%. So unionized workers, that sector of the work force which has the capacity to struggle, and which leads the rest of the clas politically, managed to stay-further ahead of cost of living increases that the simple DBS figures would suggest.

In discussing consciousness of the class the capacity of the unions to win concessions has first to be considered. There is no mechanical connection between the winning of concessions and the growth of reformist illusions. As Mandel points out in "After Imperialism", it has been factory workers who have made the biggest gains since the Second World War, and they do not follow into the political category of "labor aristocrats". They do not feel that they are part of the establishment, and they are usually ahead of their less-well off brothers in terms of political and social consciousness.

The question of leadership is as important as the capacity of imperialism to grant concessions. It is the betrayals of the leadership

which have pushed the industrial working class off the forefront in social struggles

copposition to intervention in the new Soulet Republic by sections of Labor. When we talk about the Communist Party we should talk about them in this context. It bears a major responsibility for the disorientation in the working class. It had support in wide layers of militants in the 1930's and even during the Second World War. It alternated between beind pro-war and then anti-war. It went back-and-forth saying at one time that Anglo-French Imperialism was the main enemy and then saying that Gorman Fascish were the main enemy. In its gyrations it convinced increasingly larger layers of workers that Communism was loyal first to some foreign power--loyal to the diplomatic needs of the Stalin leadership--and not loyal to the working class in this country. Its betrayal of the working class became even more clear in World War II. The CP became the most wretched supporter of the "No Strike Pledge". CP members in the unions played the role of policemen-ratting on workers during wildcat strikes, weeding out "Trouble-makers". It became the agency of the state in the trade union movement. By supporting the intervention of the government in the unions through the "No Strikes Pledge", the CP did the spade work for the witch-hunt in the post-war years-the hounding of militants from the trade unions. They not only dug their own grave, they helped to make anti-Communism the official ideology of the labour movement. By persecuting the militants during the war, they irreparably divided themselves from the only defence radicals 'could have from the government Many militant workers turned their backs on the CP during the witch-hunt because they had themselves witnessed victimization at the hands of the Stalinists. evident to the town to the tot washen, to the to their end in the tree to their e

The new leadership that arose with the surge of industrial unionism in the post-war years did not provide a socialist alternative. Limited to a reformist ideology, it quickly went along with the witch-hunt. Unable to develop a historic perspective, it accepted the crumbs off the table of big business as the desired fruits of the giant post-war struggle. It sank comfortably into the priveleges of a new labour bureaucracy.

The concessions won by the labour movement could have become important lessons on the need to struggle had there been a leadership there to draw the conclusions. It was not inevitable that with the boom workers should develop reformist illusions. But without a socialist leadership, with a firm base of support in the class, it was inevitable.

It is a fact that trade unions have limited their struggles to these concessions. They have not been involved in the more general struggles. The trade union movement (with the exception of the occasional leader) have been noticeably absent from the anti-Vietnam war movement. The unions have not identified themselves with the colonial revolution. They have not identified themselves with the right to self-determination for Quebec. They do not even fight for their our unemployed brothers through struggles such as thirty for forty nor have they seen in most cases the threat of inflation clearly enough to demand an escalator clause. It is obvious that organized conciousness is not much beyond simple trade unionism.

The reference to "a long and rich anti-imperialist tradition in this coutry", without any explanation gives a misimpression about the level conciousness in this country. It is true that there is an anti-imperialist tradition, but there is also a very rich pro-imperialist tradition.

There-are the two 1837 rebellions, the Riel Rebellion, opposition to the First World War in French Canada and by the Western Canadian labor novement, opposition to intervention in the new Soviet Republic by sections of Labor, opposition to the Second World War in French Canada, the anti-war, anti-i perialist tradition of prairie radicalism as expressed by the Regina Manifesto and J.S: Woodsworth. But there is also the tradition of 1812, when the Canadian population in its majority sided with the old dominant I perialism against the rising expansionist of the most dynamic bourgeois republic in the world. The 1837 rebellions ran into the apathy of large sections of the population in English Canada, and the outright betrayal of i portant sections of the rising bourgeoisie. In French Canada, English Canadians collaborated in the ruthless extermination of the Rebellion. In the Riel Rebellion it was the Canadians who were the jingoist expeditionary force. Canadians followed a policy of exterminating the native population all across the country. In the First World War even the trade union movement in Ontario supported the war and the Union Government was able to whip up an anti-French Canadian hysteria, particularly inthe rural areas of English Canada. In the Second World War, even the CCF, which had started with opposition to Imperialist War, repudiated its feader and ended by supporting the war. 85% of English Canadians voted for conscription. More recently the CCF and the trade union movement supported the Korean War. Not only is this proi perialist tradition very rich, but it is much better known. It is taught and glorified inthe schools and wass media. The schools and was media.

This pro-imperialist tradition so perceates the country that neither the NDP nor the trade unions in English Canada are on record in support of the right of self determination for Quebec. It is not unusual to hear active trade undonists express the most ignorant anti-French Canadian sentiments, and to hear the argue that .Quebec should be"kept"with force if necessary.

smalet ideology, it quickly went along with the witch-hunt. Unable to develop a By simply saying that there is a rich anti-imperialist tradition, we distort our history. Most people simply are not aware of the tradition. The document can help teach about this tradition by outlining the high points of this anti-imperialist traditions, and counterposing it to the wretchedness of the consciousness of the official trade union and NDP leadership.

leasons on the need to struggle had there been a leaderphin there The working class is not consciously anti-i perialist or anticapitalist. Even the NDP is a reflection of illusions in the reformability of capitalism. The trade union leadership launched the NDP not as a complement to militant class action, but as a substitute for it. Seeing that all the big business parties were unwilling to give them their fair place in the sun, they tried to build a new liberal-labor coalition which would grant the their rightful place in the administration and decision-making in the capitadist state.

The late 1950's and early 60's was a gri period for simple trade unionis: It was a period of the highest unemploy ent since World War 11.

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Seeing their base of support appartently being eroded away, the trade unions leaders turned to the parliamentarians of the CCF and to political action. But the new party did not have a program which called for the transformation of society, or a program which recognised the episodic character of the concessions the trade union movement had been able to win. Rather than calling for workers power it saw political action as the tool by which struggle for concessions could be continued. It called for the alteration of the tax structure, called for higher init un wage laws, compulsory social security measures, which, while positive, were demands for improvements in living standards within the confines of the present system.

The leadership did not intend to build a class party. But despite the selves they did. First no section of the bourgeoisie or even any significant layers of the petit bourgeoisie showed any inclination to build a new coalition. Secondly in order to deepen its support among trade unionists, the NDP and trade union leaderships were forced to argue that workers had to have their own party, that the parties of big business would inevitably act in the interests of big business and not of workers. They were forced to take job or trade union consciousness to a higher plane. In this way the NDP, despite its liberal reformism, despite the particle entary illusions of its leadership plays a historically progressive role.

The political conditteedraft resolution by not discussing the actual level of consciousness in the working class ends up by inadequately presenting the NDP orientation. Because workers see their struggles in terms of reforms and consessions, the NDP takes the class struggle to a higher stage. It generalises specific trade union struggles. In our document we must say that. If we do not we fail to neet the consciousness of the most advanced workers, those who have gone beyond the consciousness of their mates, see the reformism of the NDP and a are repelled by it. Nor would we be able to explain the orientation to growing numbers of youth who are being radicalised outside the NDP.

Because the resolution doesn't firmly peg our orientation to the consciousness of the class, it doesn't explain the orientation. It appears as though we have two lines on the NDP. They are surmarised in two sentences: "The most significant political development of this century has been labor's creation of the New Democratic Party", and a few paragraphs later, "The reformist policies of the NDP leadership do not meet even the most irrediate needs of the working people, and the irrediate problem entailed in propelling the party toward power."

The seemingly contradictory attitude is bridged by our understanding of the role the NDP plays. It brings the class struggle to a higher stage. It poses generalised class action in place of the actions of workers in a shop

or even in an industry. In doing so, it begins the mobilisation of the class as a political force. If the working class was already politically conscious, the reformism of the NDP would be a break on the class struggle. The facts are that many of the secondary leaders of the trade union movment - staffers - are ahead of the ranks even in regard to the NDP. Workers are not automatically supporting even the concept of a labor party. It is only in the last couple of years that we can begin to see even a majority of organised workers supporting the labor party.

We support the Mabor party with no qualifications because it brings the class struggle one step higher, but while we do so, we also work to bring a socialist consciousness to the working class. Without a socialist program, without a socialist progr

By supporting the MDP we do not help in the entrenchment of a reformist leadership of the working class. The growth and support for the MBP among workers, the growth in political consciousness among rank and file workers in fact weakens the position of the reformist leaders since it begins to undernine the class-collaborationist ideology which permeates "business unionism."

We should rewrite the document to remove all traces of romanticism with regard to the class. First, the rank and file is not nore politically conscious than the leadership. By and large both have reformist illusions. Second, the leadership is not in most cases a distinct social strata. The bulk of trade union leaders do not live significantly differently than do the best off industrial workers or craft unionists. The trade union leadership, even at its highest levels in Canada does not have the extravagent salaries of the U.S. labor leaders. Because they are Canadians, their chances of rising in the union hierarchy are not so great as their counterparts on the secondary level in the U.S.

We should make it clear that we do not pose the struggle for leadership as being between the rank-and-file and the leadership. It is a struggle for a socialist leadership, a militant class-struggle leadership. Before a new leadership is build we will see growing splits within the present leadership: the growth of centrist and revolutionary tendencies in the trade union movement. It is along with these formations, in a living experience which will sort out the revolutionaries from the reformist careerists, that the new socialist leadership will be built.

the MDF orientation. Becouse workers see their strugglesin tor s of reforms and

To explain the consciousness of the "rank-and-file" is not to express denoralisation. Even trade union consciousness is positive. Workers have not been denoralised by terrible struggles. They have won concessions easily. They are confident of themselves, and have in the boom, become convinced of their right to endless increases in their standard of living.

The see ingly controdictory attitude is bridged by our understanding of the role the MDP plays. It brings the class struggle to a higher stage, It prints the class struggle to a higher stage, It poses generalised class action in place of the actions of workers in a shop

I would also like to present the following specific ameridments.

So as this boom dissipates --- as it already is the trade union demands run head on into a confrontation with capitalism. In the boom, concessions could be granted because profits were growing faster than were the increase in wages. However, as the crisis of shrinking markets excess capacity, and the endless military drain grows, profit will begin to stagnate. Workers will get real increases only by cutting into the share of the total value produced which goes to big bussiness That is intolerable for the capitalist class. It would mean even greater stagnation -- a flight of capital from the country in reaction to shrinking profits. The capitalist class has two options: to take the concessions away through inflation or increased taxes; or to use the power of the state to shackle the fighting ability of the working class--as was the case with bills 42,43 and 33 in B.C. theluding education, industry, public works, seetal welfar

As we come out of the boom, and we can already see important signs of stagnation in unemployment figures: for a tworkers (kovernments, the same arguments and

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The seasonly adjusted figures for the beginning of this year see a jump to the highest Unemployment rate in the last five years

The capitalist stagnation in the late 1950's and early 1960's lead to the formation of the NDP. Today we not only have the NDP which has been growing rapidly in working class support, but we are over the McCarthyist period. A new layer of young workers gives vitality to the movement. It has few ties of solidarity with top union leadership. It has grown up in a period where it has come to expect 5-10% wage increases. It is confident.

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It is a period in which even wage demands can become transitional demands, as a belief in the right to corcessions runs head on into the inability of the system to make these concessions. It is a period when transitional demands such as the sliding scale of hours and wages, open the books, for a worker's government will meet an increasingly receptive audience. It is a period in which the revolutionary movement will begin to put meat on the bones of its cadre, aperiod when the beginnings of a base will be established in the organizations of the working class

With the above general comments in mind, the following amandments are proposed:

- 1. That we record the undoubted fact of the long economic boom, and along with the betrayals of the leadership of the class--Cp, reformists, trade union brass--explain the limited conciousness of Canadian workers
- 2. That we project the possibilities in the next period on the basis of a new economic conjuncture
- 3. That we explain the NDP orientation in light of the conciousness of the working class

I would also like to present the following specific amendments.

- A. That rather than just simply referring to Canada's anti-imperialist tradition, that we outline the main features of this tradition, so that we will do something to restore this tradition to the consciousness of Canadians.
- B. That we add a few sentences clarifying our position on the demands of the native population. That we make it clear that we are not opposed to reservations. That we are in favor of the native population having the right to determine themselves whether they will integrate into white communities or live in their own communities; and that in either case we demand that the government make the resources available to permit the native population to live in dignity and economic well-being, with the right to self-government in all affairs, including education, industry, public works, social welfare, etc.
  - C. That rather than calling for a "Workers and Farmers Government", we call for a "Workers Government". The same arguments apply in Canada as do in the U.S., where the slogan has been changed. Less than 1% of the population is engaged in agriculture. With the growth of the urban profession and technical strata, more and more being subjected to the same conditions as the working class as a whole; and with the proletarianization of the campuses, both in class composition of students and in terms of future prospects, farmers cease being the single most decisive allies of the working class. The document itself is evidence of the anachronistic character of the slogan. Aside from a couple of casual allusions to the stagnation of rural areas, there is not even any mention of farmers. They appear first in the slogan. Farmers as a class have undergone a significant transformation since the 1930's when the slogan for a Workers and Farmers Government was first out forward. On the one hand, there is a minority of rich farmers, who use capital-intensive agricultural methods and are more close in social position to the smaller urban bourgeosie than to the classic working fa mer: on the other hand the majority of farmers have been partially driven off the land. They subsist only on the lowest levels or are forced to spend a portion of each year working for someone else. This section of the agricultural population is the ally which must be won. It is not either so socially important, or separated from the working class as it was in the 1930's. It can be brought toward collaboration with the class as a whole to a large extent on the same slogans and demands which are put forward within the class as a whole. Changing the slogan does not mean that we do not view farmers as the allies of workers, rather it is to recognize that as an ally they a rank much lower than they did 30 years ago. Rather than putting them in the slogan, which is to give equal weight to farmers as to workers in the new government, we should list them along with the new professional strata and students as allies who will participate in the workers government. It is sufficient to put demands which meet the specific needs of these potential allies easts anthrow end toenotiestropro end at bedelidates

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The Happy Picketers
Though the words on their placards are grim, these two women picketers—one accompanied by a young boy — have far from grim expressions. They were protesting French and Portuguese colonial policies in front of the consulates on Bay stelast night.

# THE WORKERS VANGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 17 (149)

May 13, 1968

Toronto - 10 Cents

# Vote Class Vote NDP!

J. V. Clyne is a man who expects his words to be acted upon. As boss of B.C.'s biggest monopoly, MacMillan & Bloedel Ltd., he has come to expect it.

Last December he made a speech on how the B.C. government should handle organized labor in that province. And a few months later the Socred government, headed up by the former Tory W. A. C. Bennett, jammed through the house a law which was a carbon copy of Clyne's speech. This law empowers the government to impose compulsory arbitration on any sector of the labor movement it sees fit to do so.

On the eve of May 1 Mr. Clyne made another speech. The occasion was the annual general meeting of the shareholders of this colossal corporation, so few in number that they could fit comfortably in a public telephone booth. This time he spoke to the daily press, which of course enthusiastically played it up — so that we could all get the word.

Mr. Clyne's theme this time was how we should vote in the coming June 25 federal elections. He didn't bother about personalities or go into the fine points of program. He just called the line — straight and clear as he and his class see it.

Trudeau? or Stanfield? Liberal? Progressive Conservative? or Social Credit? Couldn't care less! Vote class, was Clyne's advice.

If you get the answer "retrenchment, drastic reduction of government expenditure," that's your man, according to Clyne.

It's no matter that it was Trudeau who, with patrician disdain, stated that it is "my belief that we have had enough of this free stuff" — like free university tuition, day care nurseries and medicare — and spoke with favor about the use of the means test.

(See page 3)

# Clyne Calls the Line

(Continued from page 1)

It is strictly coincidental that it was Trudeau who revealed that it is cool towards a tax on profits gained through the sale of stocks and eal estate—a tax, a capital gains tax on this favorite method that op executives have for getting considerable tax free income.

And so what if it was Trudeau, who through an unprecedented rder in council, granted an exemption on withholding tax on interest nd dividends to the financiers of the billion dollar Brinco power roject! Normally investors in the company's 400 million dollars worth f development bonds would have to pay a 15 percent tax.

But wouldn't Mr. Stanfield if he were in office, with or without it socreds in tow, do the same? Anyone who knows the score at all nows he would.

Another test? What's the cause of inflation? asks Mr. Clyne. Of ourse, reckless government spending and wage increases! There it Crystal clear. Take your choice — any choice — Liberal, Progressive Conservative or Socred.

So having started off strong demanding an end to Canadian comicity in the U.S. war of aggression against the people of Vietnam, ssibly the NDP leadership may taper it off as the campaign goes on.

And yes, with the much-touted "Minimum Program for a New nadian Society" the NDP leadership doesn't even hint at socialism, an ultimate objective. A grievous mistake.

Probably many of the candidates will be middle class and not rkers that militants can identify with.

But Mr. Clyne has made the case clear, crystal clear, that supporters his class should vote for any of the Liberal, Progressive Conservator Socred candidates. And by the same measure, any working man, man or youth should support and vote for any candidate of the w Democratic Party.



# New Socialist HQ's In Quebec, Ottawa

Montreal and Ottawa socialists celebrated May Day '68 by inaugurating their new headquarters.

The Ottawa Socialist Center, at 238 Arlington (corner of Percy), marks an important achievement for the socialist movement in that city. The new center, which includes a bright meeting hall, offices, kitchen, literature display room and a lounge, should provide the focal point for radical activity in Ottawa. It is the headquarters of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists Ligue des Jeunes Social-

It was the scene of Ottawa's first May Day celebration in recent years. The rally and social evening on May 4 drew radicals from various tendencies as well as young people who had not previously come in contact with socialist ideas.

Speakers included Carole Oleniuk, organizer of the Ottawa Young Socialists, Chris Hanratty representing the Ottawa Communist party, Vic Parsons of the Carleton University Young New Democrats, and George Addison, organizer of the League for Socialist Action. The speeches emphasized the traditions of the working class movement and the need to solidarize with socialist struggles around the world, particularly the Vietnamese revolution.

All participants in the celebration agreed that a good precedent had been set in Ottawa for further May Day events - and for collaboration among the various radical

In Montreal, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière opened its new headquarters, hall and bookstore at 17 Ontario St. W. with a very successfull May Day "Banquet-Soirée," attended by 45 supporters of La Lutte Ouvrière and the Vanguard.

In keeping with the international solidarity of May Day, the guest speaker was a young American socialist, Mary-Alice Waters, national secretary of the fast-growing Young Socialist Alliance, MaryAlice recently toured Europe interviewing leaders of the burgeoning revolutionary youth movements there, and participated in the dem-(See page 2)

# Montreal

(Continued from page 1)

onstration of 20,000 students in Berlin against the war in Vietnam, led by German SDS leader Rudi Dutschke. Her interview with Dutschke appears in the current issue of the Young Socialist. She spoke on "A New Generation of Socialist Youth."

The new LSO headquarters includes for the first time a modest bookstore with 2,000 volumes. Its street exterior decorated in bright blue and orange, the store is conveniently located in the center of town near a major Métro station.

# Our Goal-A Thousand **New Readers**

One thousand new readers-that's our goal! The new subscription campaign of the Workers Vanguard begins with this issue, and will run until election day, June 25.

It is no accident that the Vanguard drive will take place at the same time as the federal election campaign. For the next six weeks the daily press will be grinding out the same old rot about the glories of the big business parties. They will describe to us in feature editorials the "real issues," and determine for us the "serious" contenders for power.

They will say that Vietnam and Canada's support of American genocide are not issues in this election, while in reality they concern our

very existence.

The dailies will tell us the old lie that the NDP is not seriously challenging the big business parties. But we know differently. The truth is that the NDP is dead serious about its bid for power.

Of all the papers in this country, only the Vanguard will be carrying a serious cross country campaign to tell the truth about the issues in the election. While it campaigns for a labor government, the Vanguard will be arming its projected 1,000 new readers with the socialist answers to the problems facing Canadians today.

This ambitious goal is the highest the Workers Vanguard has ever aimed for in a single drive.

While we won't be able to afford bill boards or subway advertisements to publicize our campaign, we will do all we can to reach new readers. Subscription salesmen will be knocking on doors from one end of the country to the other, making sure worker militants and NDP supporters have subscriptions to the socialist press. The area quotas along with a score board on the progress of the drive will be printed in the following issues of the Vanguard.

Help us in our campaign! If you haven't yet got your subscription use the form in this issue to get one now. If any of your friends don't get the Vanguard, buy them subscriptions too.

Help us reach our goal of 1,000 new readers!

#### Vietnam, Public Ownership Debated

# **B.C. NDP Marks Time**

by Phil Courneyeur

VANCOUVER — The seventh annual convention of the British Columbia NDP met here April 27-28, in the wake of Trudeau's snap election call. Although the agenda was altered to make leeway for workshops on door-knocking and "public relations", the convention did find time to touch some key policy matters.

In addition to demonstrating against the Vietnam war in support of the April 27 Day of Protest, the delegates endorsed overwhelmingly the Saskatchewan NDP resolution calling for the "complete withdrawal of American forces in Vietnam and a settlement based on the principle of self-determination for all the Vietnamese people."

The debates unfolded in an altogether freer, more open, and more tolerant atmosphere than in previous conventions.

A rumored challenge to Robert Strachan's leadership fizzled out much ahead of convention day. But an underlying discontent with the NDP's policy and its drift toward sheer machine politics was reflected even in top circles. Outgoing provincial president Norman Levy, for example, in a nomination statement for his successor, John Laxton, dissociated both himself and Laxton from the 1962-64 expulsions of socialists from the B.C. section.

#### Bill 33

The main labor issue in B.C.—
the campaign to defeat the vicious compulsory arbitration law, Bill 33,—was sloughed over by the convention in a resolution declaring the party's intention to repeal it when elected. The motion called upon the caucus in Victoria to "mobilize the maximum opposition, both within the parliament buildings and without," and projected that "as a first step toward the defeat of Bill 33 (the NDP) urge every union member to support in every possible way the NDP candidate in the current

by-election in Vancouver South."

Since the convention, the latest of Vancouver South candidate Norman Levy's campaign leaflets has come out with a brief section stating NDP opposition to the bill. But no campaign around the bill is yet in sight.

A Socialist Caucus brochure distributed to the convention urged that the fight against Bill 33 be made a central issue in the by-election, and argued for greater labor participation and control in the party, against a section of the delegates (mainly supporters of a so-called "concerned slate") which wants to curtail participation by union affiliates in the party.

#### Affiliations

Labor delegates succeeded in forcing the party leadership to reverse a decision by the chair earlier in the convention that delegates from affiliated unions must take out full party membership. Union militants argued effectively that affiliated unions had the sole right to determine who of their members would represent them to NDP conventions.

Among other highlights of the convention was passage of a resolution re-affirming the NDP's commitment to full employment as a top priority objective. Left spokesman Dorothy Steeves' amendment calling for economic planning and "public ownership of the vital productive sectors of the economy coupled with an equitable system of taxation" passed overwhelmingly. But the convention steered clear of any serious program for nationalization of the forest industry, such as that advanced by the Socialist Caucus.

#### **Marked Time**

The 1968 convention—politically and organizationally—marked time. It was apparent that both the Strachan leadership in Victoria and the Berger majority in Vancouver

are confident enough to ignore convention resolutions. Both factions uphold the right of the MLAs' caucus to make the real policy decisions in the party and both regard conventions as party rallies and necessary rituals or useful sounding boards.

The usual resolution to spread NDP conventions over two years instead of holding them annually as now, drew a line between those in the party who want to revive its political life, and the machine bureaucrats and the hierarchy who are sold on Madison Avenue techniques and the so-called "secret weapon"—door knocking and gladhanding. The resolution won majority support, but failed to pass the two-thirds requirement.



AGAINST WAR in VIETNAM. Andrew Brewin, NDP's foreign affairs critic in parliament, addresses rally in Queen's Park, Toronto, on April 27.

#### **BUILDING THE SOCIALIST PRESS**

### We Made It - Over the Top!

by The Editors

The biggest news at the LSA/LSO May Day banquets and rallies was the success of the 1968 Workers Vanguard/La Lutte Ouvrière Fund Drive.

With the last returns still coming in from across the country, it seems clear that we reached our objective of \$12,500 — the largest sum ever by far!

Already, we've received \$10,073 in cash, which breaks down as follows:

Vancouver\$	1,745
Montreal	1,000
Alberta	591
Toronto	5,419
Youth (YS/LJS)	1.318

Total .....\$10,073

In addition to this, we have been assured of pledges totalling \$1,995, including \$755 from Vancouver and about \$1,000 from the Youth. We are confident that the remaining unreported contributions when added to this \$12,028, will not only meet our \$12,500 goal, but put us over the top!

The success of this year's publications drive is all the more impressive when compared with previous years. In 1961, the year the New Democratic Party was founded, we raised \$2,100 for the Vanguard. By 1964, this had risen to \$4,000. Last year, we made a special appeal to make the monthly Vanguard a twice-monthly, and raised \$9,250 from our friends and supporters. This year, we joined forces with

the Montreal journal La Lutte Ouvrière, published by our cothinkers in the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, to raise our objective by another 25 percent. As the results testify, we did not set our sights too high.

The success of the drive is in part due to the new interest in the expanded Vanguard — our greater ability to cover events in the NDP and the anti-war and labor movements. But it is also due in large part to you, our readers, who contributed more than ever to make our work in the coming year as effective as possible.



MAY DAY. A view of the guests at Toronto banquet. Banner reads: "On May Day — with Vietnam, Cuba and the World Struggle for Socialism."



VANCOUVER, APRIL 27. Young people in anti-Vietnam war march carried Young Socialists banners hailing Che Guevara and calling for defense of Vietnamese revolution.

# Anti-War Moods in U.S. Army, Speaker Tells May Day Meet



CONFRONTATION. French students mount barricades in Paris as they await the onslaught of police. Militant strikes by students across France, backing their demands for major educational reforms, soon drew support from millions of dissatisfied workers in the biggest general strike in French history.

# French Workers' Revolt Shakes DeGaulle Regime

by Dick Fidler

May 22 — The massive wave of strikes which have shut down all major industry in France, and the resulting political crisis, have shaken the regime of General de Gaulle to its roots, and opened up a pre-revolutionary period in France's history.

The growing frustration and resentment of French workers in the face of skyrocketing prices, unemployment, blatant discrimination in educational opportunities, and shocking housing conditions, has boiled over in a massive challenge to a regime which, thrust upon the French people in a period of profound political crisis ten years ago, has shown itself to be completely insensitive to the needs of the workers. Touched off by the largest student actions in the current wave of international student radicalization, the workers' revolt has taken by surprise all the traditional political parties, including the Communist party and the unions under its influence, and posed in the sharpest way the need for a new revolutionary leadership for the French working class.

As we go to press, eight million French workers have shut down the plants and occupied the factories. The rest of industry is grinding to a halt. Departing from the custom of 24 or 48 hour protest stoppages, the workers have set no limits to this general strike.

Their wide-ranging demands—reduction of hours, higher pay, lower taxes, an end to unemployment, cuts in welfare, and the country's housing

crisis, and a greater say in the operation of their plants - underscore the complete failure of de Gaulle's autocratic "personal power" to re-solve the problems created by French capitalism in the post-war period. And no one can mistake the workers' militant and uncompromising mood. At Nantes, where the Sud-Aviation workers first emulated the students by taking over the factories, they welded the gates and have put the plant manager and his aides under custody until their demands are met. At the government's giant Berliet truck plant, the workers who have occupied the buildings and locked up the bosses have scrambled the company's name on a sign to read "Liberté." And at the giant Renault auto plant near Paris, where the first red flag was hoisted, a banner across the main gate calls for "the left to power."

Commenting on the solid support for the strike in the cities, The New York Times reports that if there is any "antagonism" to the strike movement in the country, it is "not finding much organized expression." Even the police, who, next to the conscript army constitute the only counterforce for the government against the aroused workers' movement, are reported to be in "a climate of extreme tension" - they have long-standing salary demands, and are "deeply disturbed" by the government order to fight the students in the Latin Quarter during the attacks which called forth the first mass demonstrations in support

of the student cause.

The unexpected turn in France's political situation has provoked consternation in many quarters. De Gaulle's chief lieutenant, Premier Pompidou, says he sees "no precedent in our history other than in the hopeless period of the fifteenth century, when the structures of the Middle Ages were collapsing." But the Communist Party no less than the capitalist rulers, has also been caught off guard.

When the student demonstrations began at Nanterre at the end of March, the CP's paper l'Humanité attacked the students as "little bands of Trotskyites, Maoists, and anarchists led by the papa's boys belonging to the upper middle classes." Then, as the revolt spread to the working class, and became a movement mobilizing hundreds of thousands and millions of workers, many of them members of CP-influenced unions, the party moved to contain the struggle. Urging the students to call off their attempts to fraternize with the workers and participate in the occupation of the factories, and warning the workers against the "adventurists" among the student leadership, the CP has tried to move the storm-center of the developing struggle out of the factories and into the National Assembly.

While the students have consistently concentrated their fire against de Gaulle and the entire regime, under the slogan "Workers to Power," the CP has gone no further than the demand of the parliamen-

**VANGUARD** 

#150

tary opposition composed of themselves and the liberal-reformist Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left, led by François Mitterand — for a "left government." Both the CP and its parliamentary allies have made clear that this demand, dressed up as a repetition of the popular front of the thirties, really means the removal of Pompidou and some of the most compromised ministers, but not the removal of de Gaulle.

#### Speeches Irrelevant

The defeat of the left's motion of censure has highlighted the complete futility of this gesture. While the workers are in effective control of the country, the party they have traditionally looked to for political leadership is talking up a coalition with the completely discredited parties of the middle classes and capitalists, with no prospect of any success in even this limited reformist maneuver. As the *Times* correspondent remarks, "The speeches at the National Assembly" seem "strangely irrelevant."

All the declarations and acts of the CP and its labor federation, the CGT, bear out the conviction being widely expressed even in the capital-

(See page 3)

Editor: ROSS DOWSON

Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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# ...Revolt in France

(Continued from page 1)

ist press that the Stalinists do not want to take power, but seek nothing more than points of leverage to negotiate some concessions from de Gaulle to head off the movement's revolutionary direction — and the threat it poses to the CP's traditional hegemony in the labor movement.

For example the New York Times of May 21 reports that the CGT "banned parades and demonstrations outside the plants, and in nearly all cases it obtained the release of plant managers sequestered by enthusiastic workers." As for the Communist party, its political bureau "stressed the limited nature of the workers'(!) demands, and denied that their movement was an insurrectional strike." As this mouthpiece of American capital explains, the CP and its labor bureaucrats "want toharness the movement of revolt and to bend it to their own purposes."

But the question uppermost in the minds of the French ruling class, and their capitalist allies is, can the Communists contain the revolt? The New York Times correspondent comments:

"If the movement is an uncontrolled revolutionary upsurge, the



SOLIDARITY ACTION. Young Socialists in Toronto demonstrated outside French consulate on May 21 in solidarity with striking French workers and students. They chanted "Vive la France Libre — La France aux Travailleurs" (Long live Free France — France to the Workers).

country may be plunged into anarchy. If the Communist party has managed to take over the movement, then, ironically, the institutions are safe and the political contest is likely to move back into the National Assembly, with votes of confidence and votes of censure and traditional speeches. . ."

But the extent of CP control is highly doubtful. The main feature of the workers' revolt has been its spontaneous, militant nature. Having hit the bricks and occupied the factories — in effect, taken them over — under the leadership of no one but their own rank and file leaders, will the workers be prepared to heed Stalinist appeals to cool it, without major concessions from the regime? And even then, what will be the consequences of this experience on their collective conscience? The revolt has shown in life how it is

possible to bring into action the mightiest of all social forces, the working class—despite the restraining influence of an ossified labor bureaucracy.

The defeat of the censure motion in the National Assembly may only harden and expand the strike movement, by exposing the utter disproportion between the parliamentary balance of forces and the real relation of forces in the country.

The further development of the struggle requires that the workers' effective power be concretized, given an organized expression. Here again, the revolutionary students have shown the way, in linking their appeal for the "immediate occupation of all the factories in France" with a call for "the formation of workers councils holding full powers."

Vol. 12, No. 18 (150)

May 27, 1968

Toronto - 10 Cents

# B.C. NDP Wins In By-Election

The NDP's impressive upset victory in the Vancouver South provincial by-election May 21 has boosted the party's chances in the federal election campaign throughout the lower mainland of B.C. NDP candidate Norman Levi trounced his Liberal and Socred opponents, winning 40 percent of the votes cast by the 54 percent of the voters who went to the polls. The NDP's 2,000 vote majority was a blow to the province's Socred government and its anti-labor drive, delivered by a predominantly working class riding which was formerly a "safe" Socred seat. The Socred vote decline was precipitous

Bill 33 and the anti-labor drive was active as a subterranean issue in the campaign. The NDP raised it reluctantly and timorously. Right before the election, however, the daily press hit out hard declaring Bill 33 the main issue. The Socred minister of labor attacked a school engineer's strike as an example of "why we need Bill 33." Socred Premier Bennett was forced to speak to a Socred rally outdoors, on the steps of a school auditorium put out of service by pickets.

Jubilant, NDP leader Robert Strachan predicted the "beginning of the end" of the Socred regime. Levi, now MLA for South, immediately pledged his support to the federal NDP campaign. Premier Bennett, thumbed down by the workers of South, complained that the Liberals and Socreds split the Socred vote, giving the vote to the "socialist NDP'ers." Even in defeat, Wacky Bennett never lost sight of the class fact of the NDP victory — the NDP versus the boss parties.

"I am here because I want the people of Canada to see what side I'm on," NDP leader T. C. Douglas told the 2,000 delegates representing some one and a half million organized workers, at the CLC con-

# CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

vention.

Embracing CLC president Donald MacDonald, Douglas added that he was at the convention so that the public could see "the folks with whom I associate." Douglas thus made clear what is known already to large numbers of Canadian workers—that the NDP is unequivocally and without any reservations the party of the labor movement in Canada.

(See page 2)

# ... CLC Delegates Hail NDP

(Continued from page 1)

The NDP leader went on to pledge the party's support in the battles against injunctions and antilabor legislation. Attacking compulsory arbitration, Douglas added that ever since Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves, no man could be compelled to work against his will. Any industry that is so essential that it requires compulsory arbitration should be nationalized, he said.

The next day Gérard Rancourt, newly elected second vice-president of the CLC, expanded on the theme of labor political action. Calling on the Quebec Federation of Labor to intensify its support of the NDP in Quebec, Rancourt, a former provincial secretary of the CCF, said one of his first acts will be to propose a joint CLC-QFL campaign to support the labor party. He added that the NDP should not pose itself as a political force emanating from Ottawa, that it should identify itself with the Québécois.

The privileged Establishment that rules this country has made it perfectly clear that in their view the real enemy in this election is the New Democratic Party.

In B.C., they're running Liberal leader Perrault against T. C. Douglas in an effort to unseat the NDP leader. In Montreal's Duvernay, former Liberal leadership aspirant

# The NDP Campaign

and head of the Montreal Stock Exchange, tycoon Eric Kierans, has announced he will try to block Quebec NDP leader Robert Cliche's bid for election to the House. In Timmins, Ont., the Liberals and Tories have forgotten their "differences" by joining behind one candidate in a bid to defeat sitting NDP member Murdo Martin.

As Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald explains: "Both old parties are business oriented and financed. When the chips are down, business interests dictate the strategical decisions at the local level."

Among some recent acquisitions in the old-line party stables are Winnipeg grain, real-estate, insurance and transport millionaire James Richardson, who is running for the Liberals; and Marcel Faribault, president of two trust companies and directer of 15 other corporations including Bell Telephone, Dominion Textiles and IBM, who has added

Tory blue to his Union National colors.

NDP federal vice-president Lau ier La Pierre has backed up th party's opposition to the Vietna war by calling for Canadian wit drawal from both NORAD an NATO. Although the NDP prograsimply talks of "replacing" NATO by a European security system. New Democrats are finding it is creasingly illogical to continue upolding the discredited cold war defense of aggressive American-doninated alliances inherited from the NDP's predecessor, the CCF.

#### INTERNATIONAL

#### A survey of British and World Affairs

from the list of contents:

Solidarity Movement,
Which Way?
Marxists and Labour
Theory of Workers' Control
Labour Party Youth Conference
ILP Conference

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VANGUARD BOOKSTORES
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### Cops Harass Radical Paper In Montreal

by Walter Blumenthal

MONTREAL - This city's radical and artistic circles have been aroused recently by another in the series of flagrant violations of civil liberties committed by the Montreal Police Department. Salesmen of Logos, a lively "underground" journal, have been repeatedly and illegally harrassed while exercising their right to sell the paper publicly.

To date, thirty-five arrests have been made, \$400 paid out in bail money, and dozens of copies of the paper confiscated. In the latest development, four vendors are awaiting a written judgment, to be handed

down June 3.

In an interview with this reporter, Logos editor Paul Kirby condemned what he termed the "double standard" of the cops. He pointed to the fact that the dailies continue to sell without a license, from which newspapers are exempted under bylaw 2820. Logos efforts to cite this bylaw are rejected by the courts. Logos, meanwhile, is prosecuted under another bylaw which makes no specific reference to newspapers. Kirby charges, moreover, that part of the harrassment is due to the paper's politics. Logos and its French-language counterpart, Le Voyage - carries consistent coverage of radical news and viewpoints, highlighted recently by some excellent articles on Cuba.

The Montreal left is rallying to defend itself from this police attack. A "Civil Liberties Action Committee" has been formed, including people from the Voice of Women and Professor Léandre Bergeron. And on May 31 a joint panel discussion-defense meeting will be held at the Socialist Forum hall, 17 Ontario St. W., at 8:00 p.m., where representatives of several organizations will discuss the civil liberties situation in Montreal. Among them will be a spokesman for La Lutte Ouvrière, in the past a victim of similar harrassment.

#150-May 1968

#### SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE-

#### Best Response Ever

by Allan Engler

Cross-Country Drive Director

The first quarter of the Vanguard-La Lutte Ouvrière subscription drive started slowly, but already it is clear that the response to the papers is better than it has ever been.

On May 20 we had received 170 subscriptions out of our goal of 1000. This is below the 250 we should have had in this period, but most of the subscriptions were sold in the last week of that period. If the average for that week is kept up for the duration of the drive, we will reach our goal of 1000 subscriptions by June 25.

The most impressive response to date is from Vancouver, where supporters of the Vanguard have accepted a quota of 300 - twice as high as any previous quota for the area. Our correspondent in Vancouver writes that they are confident that they will reach their goal, and that in two drives in Vancouver South, where a provincial byelection was just held, over 50 new subscriptions were signed up. The Vancouver canvassers visited homes that had NDP election signs up. Between 35 and 40 percent of those visited bought Vanguard subscriptions.

In Toronto, the NDP campaign is still not in high gear. Few election signs are up, so canvassers visit each home in selected working class areas. The drive started slowly, but is picking up steam, 82 subscriptions have been sold. As well four supporters of the Vanguard from Toronto travelled to Hamilton last Saturday. They got 18 subscriptions going door to door, and are confident that they will do even better in succeeding Saturdays as they get to know the city better.

Montreal reports that the drive started slowly there. They do report getting 10 subscriptions to La Lutte Ouvrière very easily, and have asked that their quota be 100 rather than the originally projected 50.

In the next issue of the paper we will report the results up to the halfway mark in the drive. We will print the area quotas, and the results in each area. So lets keep them rolling in, and see whether we can get 500 subs by June 2nd.

#### Subscribe Now!



1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5

\$1.00 for six months (12 issues)

\$2.00 for a year

Name

City......Prov.....Prov.

# Discrimination Against Women Protested at Status Hearings

by Joan Newbigging

"I cannot stand cooking, I hate housekeeping, and having little children around me all the time can drive me bats."

This outburst is one of many that are being heard at the hearings of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. Women from across the country have seized this opportunity to voice their bitterness at their limited role in society and to expose the discrimination that is a constant part of their lives. Working women and housewives have told of their difficulties and problems, students and professional



women have described the limited opportunities before them, and Indian women have painted a harsh picture of the double discrimination and double exploitation they suffer. Because of this the hearings provide us with a sharp and often dramatic insight into many of the problems and injustices women face in Canada today.

#### Equal Pay

At several of the hearings, the issue of equal pay for equal work was brought sharply to the fore. All provinces except Newfoundland and Quebec have equal wage laws on the books. But, like so many other highsounding laws, these don't even start to scrape the surface of the problem, mainly because they are not enforced. Only last January, an Supreme Court judge Ontario claimed it was commonsense that a policewoman should earn less than her male counterpart because this was in accord "with every rule of economics, civilization and family

A woman appearing before the Commission in Saskatchewan explained how she had worked as a truck driver for the past five years and had always been paid considerably less than male truck drivers. When she had complained, she had been told that she was receiving "women's wages."

But there is another reason why these equal wage laws are virtually useless. Very few women are prepared to risk issuing formal complaints against their employers. Mary Rocan, director of the women's bureau of the Saskatchewan Department of Labor told the Commission that "they are afraid of losing their jobs and they are afraid of losing promotional opportunities by complaining. ." With the all-powerful employer and the moralising judge against her, small wonder that the Canadian woman becomes intimidated and allows this issue to hang fire.

#### Working Women

But the very fact that these staunch upholders of the system are so firmly opposed to women receiving equal pay is significant in itself. For centuries, capitalism in the advanced countries has blundered on from boom to war to crisis, etc., by manipulating whole sections of the population. One of its key tactics has been to sweep women on and off the work force as the economy demands. The classic example took place during World War II. With the male work force conscripted into the army, women were desperately needed to man the factories and were provided with every facility to enable them to do this. The war over, they were manipulated back into their position as a reserve of cheap labor.

Today, although the prosperous Canadian economy is increasingly demanding their services, women still occupy essentially the same position

The growing demand today for women to return to the work force was discussed in a brief presented by the Saskatchewan government. Declaring that the need for day care centres would become acute when the province was more highly industrialized, the brief proposed that the federal and provincial government cooperate in a plan to establish day care centers for working mothers.

This is an idea that will be en thusiastically endorsed by thousand of working families. But, in cas anyone might get the idea that the Saskatchewan government was if favor of full-time mothers having some time off, the representative of this government was swift to ad "... we don't want to find ourselve establishing a sort of babysitting service for women who want the afternoon off to play golf."

#### Salary for Mothers

Why not? Why doesn't the government start taking child-raisin seriously? Why don't they provid mothers with some real assistance Why don't they pay a salary to ful time mothers — as was suggested the commission in Saskatchewan Why is child raising all too often a unwelcome and grinding burden twomen?

The New Democratic party program takes a step in the right direction when it proposes child care certers for both housewives and working mothers, taxation credit for fultime mothers and crediting housewives with a salary amount as bas for the pension they will later receive. A more adequate measure it the demand in the League for Socialist Action brief that those women who prefer to be home makers should receive a wage from the state.

#### **Basic Solutions**

The far-reaching character of the issues raised in the Commission hearings to date is underlined by the LSA brief, which concludes:

"Women must seek a society the knows no inequalities of sex, rac or class. Equality for women – free partnership with man — car not be found in an unjust and exploitative society. It can only be found in a society where the great productive forces created by our collective effort are at the full dispost of humanity, where the economy planned to meet human need an where production is geared for human use — in a socialist society.

L'INTERNATIONALE

CONVENTION AGEN	DA ORDRE DU JOUR DL CONGRES
Saturday, June	29 samedi le 29 juin
9:00 - 10:00	REGISTRATION Accréditation
10:00 - 11:00	OPENING PROCEDURES Ouverture du congrès
11:00 - 12:00	POLITICAL RESOLUTION Résolution Politique présentation, discussion.
	LUNCH
2:00 - 3:00	POLITICAL RESOLUTION Résolution Politique discussion, vote.
3:00 - 6:00	Canada/U.S. relations Les rapports Canada-E-U présentation, discussion, vote
	SUPPER A STATE OF THE PROPERTY
7:30 - 10:00	Workshops Trade Union Ateliers Syndicats et anti-puerre
Sunday June 30	dimanche le 30 juin
10:00 - 12:30	QUEBEC présentation, discussion.
2:00 - 4:00	QUEBEC discussion, vote.
4:00 - 6:00	Workshops Ateliers le NPD, la femme, la presse
	SUPPER DINER
8:00	MEETING QUEBEC LIBRE:
Monday July 1	lundi le ler juillet
10:00 - 12:30	ORGANIZATIONAL RESOLUTION Caractème organisationnel
	de la LSO/LSA présentation, discussion, vote.
	LUNCH
2:00 - 4:00	Election of Central Election du Comité central.
	Adjournment

THE INTERNATIONAL

### L'INTERNATIONALE

Debout! les damnés de la terre!
Debout! les forçats de la faim!
La raison tonne en son cratère:
C'est l'éruption de la fin.
Du passé faisons table rase,
Foule esclave, debout! debout!
Le monde va changer de base:
Nous ne sommes rien, soyons tout!

C'est la lutte finale: Groupons-nous, et demain, L'Internationale Sera le genre humain.

### THE INTERNATIONAL

Arise, ye prisiners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For Justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chain shall bind us.
Arise, ye slaves; No more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.

Tis the final conflict, Let each stand in h s place, The International Party Shall be the human race.

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## INSIDE-Eyewitness Reports on France



Paris students demonstrate in the Champs-Elysees

### **WORKERS POWER** FRANCE

## liberals, Tories are Avoiding the Issues

Talk on the issues before the ters this election: on the housing isis, on the ever-rising cost of liv-g, U.S. economic penetration, Can-la's membership in NATOda's membership in NATO-NORAD, its involvement in Viet-tam, and what you propose to do about them. "Issues!" "Issues!" demanded the picket signs carried by a squad of youth at one of Prime Minister Trudeau's shopping plaza xtravaganzas - on this occasion. Winnipeg. So obviously, so crudely has the

Trudeau campaign been designed to oncentrate on the personality plane hat it has become embarrassing to wen his most vigorous supporters. The kingmakers on Toronto's King treet, the editors of the Star, who ere the most strident partisans of Irudeau in the Liberal leadership ampaign, have even felt called upon respond to this discontent.

Personality

"Charming Pierre, versus sober lob. There are the roles," they trite in their lead May 29 editorial, which the Liberal and Conservative entral casting offices have obviously assigned to their respective leaders in the federal election campaign. ach party is building its strategy round the personality of its man other than on serious discussion of

"Mr. Trudeau," they note, "has ofed to stop talking about the only sue he has raised (Quebec) though has continued to discuss it in reach Canada. Mr. Stanfield has greed to the P.M.'s offer. If they op debating this issue it is hard to where the leaders are going to in battle on any ground except

An issueless campaign," they ob-"leaves the voters with too

tle basis for judgment."
Too little basis, say the Star edirs. If that were the basis for choice ton it that were the basis for choice—
the personality of the Liberal or 
Progressive Conservative leader —
that would be none at all. What can 
the electorate know of the personality of these leaders or any of their 
tamp followers? And what would it the if they could? They can, and increasing number do, know their arties and their record in govern-

ment, what interests their policies serve, their commitment to and extend the interests of the capi-talist class. But that is just what they are trying to cover up on us. Issues Obscured

It is no accident that the Liberal and Progressive Conservative party strategists have their front men con duct a policy-less campaign. They want to shove far into the background all the crucial problems con-fronting the working people. This is a highly satisfactory agreement for them since when it comes to matters of policy there is not a hair's differ-ence between them.

If this turns the whole election

impaign as presented over radio, V and through the press, into a carnival, that is because that is the essence of the whole parliamentary game — a form of musical chairs. Liberals out — Tories in — a

majority Liberal government or a minority Tory government, it is all the same. In any case the interests of the real rulers of Canada are de-fended all down the line. The interests of the giant monopolies, the industrialists, the banks, the trusts, the exploiters of the workers' labor power, the looters of the mineral and forest wealth are loyally upheld and extended.

Above all, in this election they want this game to play on undis-turbed. That means cut out the New Democratic Party,
Slush Funds
John Aird made this very clear

John Aird made this very clear in an interview with leading newspaper columnist Ron Haggart in the May 14 Toronto Telegram. Aird should know, as he is the most important Liberal party fund collector. This year this little-known Bay

JUNE 6 — As the largest general strike in history ended its third week, millions of French workers and students continued to occupy the factories and universities. And in other countries of Europe, the spreading unrest sparked by the demonstrations of students and young workers in solidarity with the French, underlined the impact of the revolutionary events in France throughout the continues to the revolutionary events in France throughout the continues to the revolutionary events in France throughout the continues to the results. throughout the continent. In Italy, the government resigned following the withdrawal of the Socialist party from the coalition. In Belgrade, stu-dents seized and occupied the univer-sity demanding socialist "democrat-ization" along the lines of Czechoslovakia.

The impressive militancy of the French workers in defense of their demands is truly inspiring, all the more because it is virtually without leadership on the national level. leadership on the national level. When the top labor leaders came to the workers on May 27 with the concessions they had negotiated with Premier Pomidou and the bosses' or-ganizations following de Gaulle's decision to call a referendum, the workers almost unanimously rejected the terms, despite assurances by such figures as Benoît Frachon, president of the Communist party-led General Federation of Labor

### Articles on French Events

We are indebted to the U.S. socialist weekly, The Militant, for the on-the-spot reports from France appearing on pages 3 to 6 of this issue. The Vanguard will continue to give special coverage to the events in France for the duration of the crisis

(CGT), that the agreement would "bring to millions of workers a wellbeing that they had never hoped to

The next day, new signs hung over the barricaded entrances of the Renault plant: "We're Here to Stay!" said one sign. Others pro-claimed: "Workers Stand Fast" and "Socialism to Power."

Paralyzed by the awesome in-transigence of all the major sectors of the working class, de Gaulle was finally forced on May 31 to posthis referendum and dissolve the National Assembly, while offer-ing no new concessions to the ing no workers.

At the same time, he mobilized the army and prepared to call up his authoritarian prefects and "civic action" groups that he used just after the second world war to disarm the Resistance, for a showdown with "totalitarian Compunism." with "totaliarian Communism."
Premier Pompidou followed up with
an "ordonnance" banning street
demonstrations. Frightened at de
Gaulle's threat of civil war, and
seeking an accommodation with the
regime, the Communist. regime, the Communist and so regime, the Communist and social-democratic left capitulated and be-gan immediately to prepare for the elections scheduled for June 23. De Gaulle's strategy is clear. He is playing for time. By calling up the army in a symbolic show of

the army in a symbolic show of force, he expected to intimidate the workers, and particularly the trade union leadership. By appearing to piece together his shaken image of strong ruler, he hopes to reassure the confused middle classes, and capitalize on their fear of "com-munism."

### CP Role

CP Role
But to be successful, his strategy
depends on the workers calling off
their strike — which is now essentially political in its motives and
direction — and returning to work,
content to place their hopes in the
electoral process. In this, his main
hope rests in the leader to

(See new ...

## NDP Backs Que. Rights

Both Trudeau and Stanfield are trying to avoid one of the major issues in this election campaign the long-standing national discrimination against the French Canadians within confederation. To listen to these capitalist politicians, you'd never know the great majority of Québécois are in revolt against the lower waves higher prosportage. lower wages, higher unemployment,



Robert Cliche Ouebec NDP Leader

CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

inferior educational system, growing threats to the very existence of their national culture which they correctly attribute to the system consolidated one hundred years ago in confederation.

The Tory and Liberal leaders'

only response to the new national consciousness of the Québécois is to flaunt their parties' hostility to Quebecs right to sign treaties with other French-speaking countries to protect and extend its language and cultural

In refreshing contrast to the old-line parties, NDP spokesmen are making it clear that Canada's labor party stands firmly in defense of the interests of the French Canadians. Federal leader T. C. Douglas has correctly denounced Trudeau's anti-nationalist demagogy over Quebec's relations with foreign countries as "a cynical attempt to divert the at-

of the Canadian people from the failure of the government to cope with the serious social and economic problems which are major causes of discontent in Quebec."

Quebec spokesmen, including party leader Robert Cliche and federal vice-president Laurier LaPierre, have defended the right of Quebec, as the national homeland of close to one third of this country's population, to whatever powers it needs not only for survival, but for the development of the French Cana-dian nation. According to Cliche, such powers would include absolute jurisdiction over education, social security, housing and urban devel-opment, as well as the right to form international ties in areas of vital interest to Quebec. LaPierre has added immigration.

The big business newspapers have ied to make out that the NDP leadership is defining the NDP's "s cial status" proposal differently French and English Canada — c veniently omitting to add that the status quo parties they support are

(See page 2)



MILLION WORKERS MARCH. Massive throng of workers and students that marched in Paris May 13 against de Gaulle regime.



## Canadian Solidarity

Fifty students and young worker picketed the French consulate in Vancouver on May 24 in solidarity with the French workers and students. The demonstration initiated by the Vancouver Young Socialist distributed a leaflet which re-printed a solidarity statement signed by leading Vancouver student and trade union leaders.

Among those signing the state ment were Tom Clarke and Bol Clair of the IWA and Paddy Neale secretary of the Vancouver Labor Council. Student leaders included John Cleveland of Simon Fraset University, Jeff Holter, NDY President, UBC, and Martin Loney, recently elected president of Simon Fraser's student council.

Two days earlier in Edmonton about 20 people marched down the main street to the French consulated in a similar display of solidarity. The international significance of the events in France was portrayed by such slogans as "Workers Power — Paris and Ottawa — Vote NDP and "Vive la France Libre."

### The Lessons of Events in France

By George Novack from Workers' Vanguard, June 1968

Truly awe-inspiring is the popular upheaval engulfing France these May days. Overnight, virtually without warning, the mass movement has risen up like a fiery volcano from beneath the ground, covering the length and breadth of the country with its lava flow. From the disturbed dignitaries high above to the participants down below, everyone has been astonished by the extent and elemental force of the outburst.

Wave upon wave of protest has rolled on to encompass every significant segment of French society apart from the ruling bourgeoisie. One layer of the people after another has responded "present" to the summons to demonstrate their discontent with de Gaulle's played-out authoritarian regime.

The students gave the signal. After them came the workers. Then the state employees and small farmers fell into line behind them – and even the police unions have expressed sympathy with the strikers!

The general strike of ten out of fifteen million workers has paralyzed all sectors of the economy. It is the most massive, the most unanimous walkout in the history of the world working class.

This magnificent mobilization is more than a general strike. It is the spontaneous outpouring of an entire nation, declaring in a single voice: "Ten years of Gaullism is more than enough; now things must change." As Premier Pompidou prophetically told the National Assembly on May 22, just before the Gaullist government narrowly escaped a censure vote: "Nothing will ever be exactly the same."

He is right. A manifestation of mass power of such magnitude subjects all theories about the main motive forces and trends of contemporary society to the rigorous tests of practical experience. It serves to confirm or disprove the validity of the programs and positions of all political formations, above all those which claim to lead the way to a post-capitalist society. The collision of ideas with the realities of the class struggle and the laws of its operation ruthlessly destroys fictions and illusions.

What, then, do the colossal events in France this May already reveal about the worth of the views advanced by the diverse tendencies of the Left? What do the confrontations to date have to teach the young rebels — and remind their elders — about the cardinal issues of our time?

They have strikingly verified in life the basic tenets of revolutionary Marxism and the perspectives issuing from them.

The social crisis that has gripped France shows that all the major capitalist powers of this era are not so strong and stable nor so immune to shocks and convulsions as may appear. It further shows that the crucial question of which class will be master of society can be posed without the onset of a severe economic depression. On the eve of upheaval France was comparatively calm, prosperous, and free from entanglement in costly colonialist adventures.

Nevertheless, its social equilibrium turned out to be so precarious that it was upset by clashes between the authorities and the students. It was as though the dislocation of a few pebbles let loose an avalanche.

Indeed, the momentum of that landslide quickly exposed the underlying weakness of de Gaulle's government and the domination of the capitalist class. The myth that authoritarian regimes can indefinitely keep the workers housebroken was shattered. For all its mystique, concessions and repressions, ten years of Gaullism did not succeed in reconciling the working class to capitalism let alone breaking its will to resist. Once the opening presented itself, the antagonism of the toilers to the rule of the rich burst out with irresistible vigor.

Their display of strength ought to dispel much of the skepticism so rife these past years in radical circles like the American Students for a Democratic Society regarding the revolutionary potential of the workers in the highly industrialized countries. The fallacious theory that the wage workers had been thoroughly seduced by the consumer culture and inseparably integrated into the capitalist structure was philosophically formulated by Professor Herbert Marcuse, among others. He asserted that the central conclusion of Marxism that the industrial working class was the antithesis, the main adversary, and the predestined gravedigger of capitalism was no longer tenable and that other, more marginal social layers would have to step into the place vacated by the Western proletariat.

Thus, in his popular work on *One Dimensional Man*, and still more categorically in a symposium at the University of Notre Dame in April 1966, Marcuse stated that "in the advanced industrial countries where the transition to socialism was to take place, and precisely in those countries, the laboring classes are in no sense a revolutionary potential."

Over a year later, in a reassessment of Marx's theory of the role of the industrial proletariat at the Third Socialist Scholars Conference in New York City, *Monthly Review* editor Paul Sweezy, propounded the proposition, foreshadowed in his work on *Monopoly Capital*, that, in sharp contrast with nineteenth century conditions and the contemporary Third World, the progress of modern technology and its enormous productivity tend to shape a proletariat which is less and less revolutionary in a developed capitalist country.

Rounding out this roster of disqualifiers of the anti-capitalist capacities of the industrial workers were Social Democrats like George Lichtheim and liberals like David Bazelon. After proclaiming that Marxism was all wrong in looking to the workers as the prime agency of social transformation, these thinkers have reassigned that leading role to the managers, technicians and intellectuals who in their eyes are better equipped and situated to supplant the capitalist owners as the new directors of "post-industrial society."

The prolonged, steadfast general strike of the French workers attended by their takeover of factories, shops and offices should indicate where the new social power and political rulership must come from. The red flags hoisted over occupied plants, the singing of the "Internationale," the calls for sweeping change betoken their conscious break with the existing order and their resolve to find the way out of its evils. Far from being complete and corrupted captives of capitalism, they want to abolish it in favor of socialism.

What the short-sighted academicians failed to understand was that the passivity of the proletariat over the past two decades was not a permanent but a passing phase. After setbacks and disappointments, they needed time to reorient themselves and recharge their energies. Their revolutionary capacities were built up little by little until these could be transformed from a potential to an active state when the appropriate circumstances and occasion arrived.

The stalemate was broken through the initiative of the new generation of young workers and students who were not bowed down by the betrayals of the past twenty years or conservatized and depoliticized by economic prosperity.

The nationwide upsurge in France likewise exposes the limitations of the prescriptions for the strategy of the world revolution emanating from Peking and shared by others. This scheme proceeds from the twin premises that for a long time to come the proletarian revolution is postponed in the imperialist countries and that the center of the revolutionary movement will continue to be exclusively confined to the colonial world.

This outlook is in turn tied up with the tacit prospect of a prolonged stabilization of the internal structures of Western imperialism. This set of propositions has now been put In doubt by the resurgence of the French proletariat in the heart of Europe. As Pompidou has said, "nothing will ever be exactly the same," after this. Those strategists who have too hastily written off the revolutionary capacities of the workers in the imperialist centers should listen to this useful warning from a spokesman of the enemy class.

The workers are obviously the dominant and decisive force in the present revolutionary offensive. But they are not the only element in active opposition. They were preceded by the students who were the first to challenge the state authorities and raise the banner of revolt. That honor cannot be taken from them by the "Stalinist creeps" at the head of the French CP (Communist Party) who condemned the audacious initiative of the students and denounced their leaders.

The developments of the protest movement go far to clarify the controversy that has been conducted in many places over the relations and respective roles of the students and the workers in the struggle against capitalist power. They should effectively dispose of two counterposed conceptions which are equally incorrect.

One was the line of thought set forth by such mentors of the New Left as C. Wright Mills, Marcuse and Paul Goodman that, in view of the bankruptcy of the "labor metaphysic" of Marxism and the definitive default of the industrial proletariat, students and intellectuals would

assume the front rank as the principal vehicle of revolutionary action and social reconstruction in our time.

On the other hand. Communist bureaucrats of both East and West, who are adamantly opposed to the student rebels, and certain pseudo-Marxist ultra-left doctrinaires have refused "on principle" to accord any progressive vanguard role to the young activists from the universities and high schools or recognize the change in their social weight and composition over the past two decades.

One of the more ludicrous and instructive examples of such dogmatism was provided by the polemic against Rudi Dutschke and the student demonstrators of the German Socialist Student Federation which appeared in the April 20, 1968, *Newsletter* of the London-based Socialist Labour League.

It denounced the SDS actions as "nothing more than an idealistic militant form of protest. Merely to carry placards in West Berlin saying 'after the students come the workers' is totally inadequate," the *Newsletter* remarked. Feeling that this diatribe was likewise "totally inadequate," these sectarians went on to say: "Such 'solutions' now create very serious problems within the working class movement because of their ineffectiveness and the ease with which they are broken up by the police and the state. They strengthen conservative, right-wing tendencies who use each defeat suffered on the streets as a means, to keep the workers quiet and hesitant of struggle within the trade unions." And the lecturers triumphantly conclude: "The demand that after the students come the workers is in essence revisionist [!] because it excludes the necessity for the construction of the revolutionary party."

After what happened in France where the workers responded to the combat of students with the police by overcoming the resistance of their own officials, these injunctions were obviously out of step with the march of events and articulated a defeatism masquerading as proletarian intransigence.

Against both varieties of one-sidedness, the Marxists have consistently adhered to a dialectical conception of the interplay between the ranks of labor and other dissident elements like the students. This is based upon the inevitably irregular mode of development and readiness for action among the diverse participants in the anticapitalist struggle.

As a rule, the separate social forces do not come upon the arena of open combat all at once or en masse but one after the other and in successive detachments. In the revolutionizing process students, intellectuals, oppressed minorities, peasants, and other oppositional layers actuated by their own grievances, can set the ball rolling and take on the authorities before the mass of workers are ready or able to move. Their first steps, their encounters, their calls for support can spur the heavy battalions of labor into action on their own account

That is precisely the kind of chain reaction that has taken place in France. What the students started set the stage for the entry of the workers. Younger workers were the link between the two sectors in the sequence of developments. In the early Latin Quarter demonstrations they came out to contact and aid the students, fought side by side with them against the cops and then

transmitted to their fellow workers in the factories the spirit of resistance and mood of solidarity against Gaullism. They acted as a conduit through which the workers became aligned with the students despite the reluctance of the union bureaucracy.

The mighty upthrust of the workers lifted the anti-Gaullist protest to the level of revolt because they alone possess the power and are in a position to carry the popular offensive to its logical ends: the overthrow of capitalism, the conquest of power, the construction of a new social order.

In order to perform these historical tasks now staring them in the face, the insurgent French workers and their allies require the proper leadership. Their mighty strike has sprung the Gaullist regime into midair where it dangles like a corpse bereft of reliable or substantial support anywhere in the masses. With the present relation of forces in the country with Gaullism *in extremis* and the ultra-right reaction isolated, with the peasants on the march and the middle classes in opposition, the political and economic props of capitalism could be dismantled and disposed of in short order.

This little scene, reported in the May 25 *New York Times*, shows how favorable me situation is for a clean sweep of the old rubbish not only in the cities but in the provinces. "The gendarmes peeped out from the entrance of the central administrative building of the Gers Department — once the Archbishop's palace here in Auch — as more than 2,000 peasants and workers marched past the moss-covered building freshly daubed with slogans such as "Everything is rotten— Revolution!" Some marchers bellowed out parts of 'The Internationale,' the Communist anthem.

The workers can be counted on to embark on a concerted struggle to assure control over the factories and secure command over the state — once they are given the lead. At present such a struggle could win with a minimum of civil strife and the least number of casualties.

However, between the workers and the prospects of power stand the cowardly and conservative leaderships of the traditional parties and union organizations. Foremost among them are the heads of the Communist Party. The full strength of its apparatus and influence has been flung into the breach to slow down and hold back the workers so that French capitalism can once more be protected and rescued from their socialist aspirations. The CP is trying to split the workers from the students.

The role of the CP is the most important political factor in the further evolution of the present revolutionary situation in France. In a desperate last-ditch effort to preserve his Bonapartist (*crisis rule by straddling classes* – *ed.*) functions, President de Gaulle has asked for a referendum in June to renew the national mandate for his personal rule.

To his request for full powers, the answer of any working class leadership worthy of the name would be: "No power to the General or any other representative of the ruling class! All power to the workers! Forward to a Socialist Republic based on the workers, farmers and students committees!"

But nothing of the sort can be expected from the Stalinist betrayers. They have no

intention of mobilizing the masses for an assault upon the bourgeois state or of expropriating big business. They envisage and propose nothing more than a shift from the extra-parliamentary rule of de Gaulle to the restoration of a bourgeois-democratic government. Under the aegis of the "Popular Front." Communist ministers are to help administer the affairs of state on behalf of a decaying capitalism in disregard of the welfare and wishes of the workers, just as they did in me French government from 1944 to 1947. Except that this time they hope to displace the Socialists, as the central faction on the Left in the horse-trading of the National Assembly.

Although they have different ends in view, the Gaullists and Stalinists are each following a common strategy of gaining time. Both bank on letting the revolutionary ardor of the workers ooze away while they haggle over paltry reforms which can be whittled down or snatched back by the bosses and their government with the next turn of me tide.

The question is: wll the French CP once again be able to squander and spoil the immense revolutionary possibilities opened up by the vast movement of the masses?

That will depend in large measure on two factors of a different order. One is the dynamic force and the resistance the workers can exert to counteract the array of adversaries and misleaders who will work with might and main to cripple and crush their offensive. The other relates to the chances of creating an alternative authoritative revolutionary leadership and a mass Marxist party in the sharpening conflicts with the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats which lie ahead.

The reflexes of the CP tops have freshly demonstrated the incapacities of the Stalinists to take advantage of the most propitious opportunity to settle accounts with capitalism in Western Europe since 1944-1945. On the other hand, the French Trotskyists, and especially its youth contingent in the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR), have displayed an exceptional ability to offer guidance to the militants in the factories, in the streets, on the barricades and in the universities and high schools.

As the *London Observer* correspondents on the spot in Paris testified on May 19: "It can claim to have provided the chief inspiration and political direction of the insurrection of the past two weeks, which may justly be described as the greatest success the Trotskyists have ever achieved in Europe."

These young revolutionary Marxists have shown that they are attuned to the temper of the masses and the pace of the present critical stage of the struggle. They are presenting a program of political and industrial action and organization designed to steer the promising beginnings of the movement toward the conquest of power by the workers.

If these two factors — the revolutionary will of the proletariat and the cadres of the Trotskyist vanguard — can be fused together in time over the coming period, the emergent revolution can be saved from the bankrupt policies of the Stalinist and reformist leaderships.

Victory in France will have to be worked for and fought for. Such an outcome would change the

whole course of European and world history. May 26. 1968

Photo-Box or sidebar SEIZE RENAULT PLANT. Workers at gates of Renault automobile factory after 40,000 workers struck and took over giant works.

## NDP Backs Que. Rights

Both Trudeau and Stanfield are trying to avoid one of the major issues in this election campaign the long-standing national discrimination against the French Canadians within confederation. To listen to these capitalist politicians, you'd never know the great majority of Québécois are in revolt against the lower wages, higher unemployment.



Robert Cliche Ouebec NDP Leader

### CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

and extend its language and cultural

line parties, NDP spokesmen are making it clear that Canada's labor party stands firmly in defense of the interests of the French Canadians. Federal leader T. C. Douglas has correctly denounced Trudeau's antinationalist demagogy over Quebec's relations with foreign countries as "a cynical attempt to divert the attention of the Canadian people from the failure of the government to cope with the serious social and economic problems which are major causes of discontent in Quebec."

Quebec spokesmen, including party leader Robert Cliche and federal vice-president Laurier LaPierre. have defended the right of Quebec, as the national homeland of close to one third of this country's population, to whatever powers it needs not only for survival, but for the development of the French Canadian nation. According to Cliche, such powers would include absolute jurisdiction over education, social security, housing and urban development, as well as the right to form international ties in areas of vital interest to Quebec. LaPierre has added immigration.

The big business newspapers have tried to make out that the NDP leadership is defining the NDP's "special status" proposal differently in French and English Canada - conveniently omitting to add that the status quo parties they support are

(See page 2)

### inferior educational system, and growing threats to the very existence of their national culture which they correctly attribute to the system consolidated one hundred years ago in confederation. The Tory and Liberal leaders' only response to the new national

consciousness of the Québécois is to flaunt their parties' hostility to Quebec's right to sign treaties with other French-speaking countries to protect In refreshing contrast to the old-

## Support in Que.

(Continued from page 1)

dead set against any sort of special status. While it is true that Douglas has suggested that Quebec should enjoy its own powers only on future projects, and not, as Cliche holds, present prorogatives, he has also said clearly that the NDP believes no proposed division of powers between Ottawa and Quebec is nonnegotiable.

The NDP's campaign in Quebec, where the party is making the biggest effort ever, is attracting support from significant new sectors of the population. In Gamelin, a working class riding in Montreal's east end. NDP candidate Denis Lazure reports that many members of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, whose top leadership does not support the NDP, are working together with Quebec Federation of Labor activists to help him defeat Tory tycoon Marcel Faribault. Much of this support comes from militants in the big CNTU local at St-Jeande-Dieu hospital.

The NDP's relatively sensitive approach to the national question has impressed many nationalists. Gérard Bélanger, chief organizer for René Lévesque's Mouvement Souveraineté-Association, stated recently in Montreal that many MSA members support the NDP candidates, "because of the party's left-wing social program and because the candidates best understand the Quebec pro-

blem." The provisional executive council of the MSA has instructed those of its members who intend to vote in the federal election to cast their ballots "against the old parties of exploitation and permanent irresponsibility." \* \* \*

Campaigning in Brantford, Ont., NDP. leader T. C. Douglas lined up solidly with the Massey-Ferguson farm implement strikers and their demand for wage parity with the company's U.S. workers. He was cheered by hundreds of UAW members when he told them that Massey's threats to move to the United States were an attempt to make a scapegoat of labor unions. The company, Douglas pointed out, has assets of more than \$900 million.

However, Douglas shied clear of the obvious reply to Massey's runaway threats - public ownership of the giant machinery concern. Instead he suggested toreign exchange controls could prevent the company from "taking its capital out of the country."

Douglas also weakened his stand on parity when he told reporters later that he would not support union demands for parity in situations where productivity is below the level in a comparable industry in the United States. As if productivity rates were in the workers' hands!

NDP leader Douglas is continuing to make Vietnam and the effects of U.S. imperialism major issues in his election campaign speeches.

He told 1500 people at a Windsor, Ont., rally that Canada should stop acting as "the chore boy for American imperialism." The Watkins report, he noted, had said twothirds of the Canadian economy was in foreign hands and if the trend

### CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

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continued the point of no return was only 10 or 15 years away.

Yet, said Douglas, the Liberal government repudiated the report the same day it was tabled in parliament. Without economic independence, Canada would lose its political independence.

Douglas pledged: "The NDP will make life unbearable for the next government unless it acts to reverse the foreign takeover of Canadian industries.'

In an interview on CBC's Public Eye, the NDP leader said: "I'd object to Canada joining the Organization of American States. It's a political organization, dictated to by the U.S. State Department and the banana republics that live off handouts from the State Department."

Demanding an end to Canadian arms sale to Washington for use in Vietnam, Douglas told students at Guelph University that "this inexcusable war will be one of the blackest chapters in the history of the human race.'

"We in Canada do not have an independent foreign policy, we have an echo of the foreign policy of the State Department," he told the students.

## Crisis in U.S. Anti-War Group

by Paul Swift

A serious crisis has erupted in the U.S. Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam — a crisis which threatens to undermine the very foundations on which the American and world anti-Vietnam war movements have been built.

For the first time in the history of the SMC, a policy of political exclusion has been adopted and carried out. A motion was passed by the working committee of the SMC on May 8 which stated that the fultime paid staff of the SMC could not include members of political organizations.

The practical effect of this motion was to fire staffers Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton, who are members of the Young Socialist Alliance, a revolutionary socialist youth organization. It also meant that a member of the Communist party, Phyllis Kalb, was fired as well, but she indicated that she was willing to step down, and supported the motion.

The motion, sponsored and carried by the combined forces of the Communist Party and the radical pacifists on the SMC working committee, represents a decisive break from the principle of non-exclusion on which the U.S. anti-war movement was founded and built to its present massive strength. This principle has been staunchly defended by both Dawson and Stapleton, who have proven time and again their commitment to the movement to end the war.

Kipp Dawson was West Coast executive director of the SMC, and was largely responsible for the organization of the April 15, 1967 demonstration in San Francisco, before moving to New York. Syd Stapleton, known to many Canadian student activists because of his participation at a Federal Council meeting and a Federal Convention of the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam, was the editor of the Student Mobilizer.

It is clear that the CP-pacifist bloc is feeling the pressures of the coming elections. In keeping with the sort of "lesser-evil politics" that elected LBJ in 1964, they want to divert the anti-war movement from its single-issue path into the election campaign, behind "peace" candidates for the Democratic Party. Dawson and Stapleton, being determined to keep the movement on its independent, single-issue path, obviously were in the way of their plans.

The SMC working committee in hoping to get away with their exclusionist policy by cancelling the national conference of the SMC which is supposed to be held before the end of June. At such a conference, the past work and performance of the working committee would be reviewed before an assembly representing the mass rank and file of the movement.

Protests against the policy of political exclusion are being sent to the SMC national office from all over the United States and other countries where the anti-war movement looks to the U.S. movement for leadership and inspiration. Americal anti-war groups are calling for full national conference in a central city in the mid-west for Jun 29, in accord with the decision of the last conference.

### **SAEWV Leader Protests**

Joe Young, chairman of the Canada-wide Student Association to End the War in Vietnam and executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto, has sent the following statement to the Student Mobilization Committee in New York:

I am dismayed to hear of the dismissal of Syd Stapleton and Kipp Dawson from the staff of the Student Mobilization Committee for which I can only interpret as their particular political beliefs. The Student Mobilization Committee has given leadership in the world-wide struggle

against the war. We have often re sponded to its calls for action, have anti-war groups around th world. At this time when more Am ericans and Vietnamese are dyin than ever before, the SMC carrie great responsibilities. The ability of the SMC to fulfill these responsibil ries will be destroyed if its nor exclusionism is destroyed. Because the fate of the SMC affects th world movement, I feel that I mu raise my voice in protest and de mand that Syd Stapleton and Kip Dawson be readmitted to the sta of the Student Mobilization Com mittee.



## Legalize Abortion, Panelists Demand

The government Royal Commission on the Status of Women has revealed one thing at least - many years after winning basic legal reforms, Canadian women are still not satisfied with their position in society. A flurry of meetings, discussions, and articles has followed the commission hearings across the country.

Three days before the hearings opened in Toronto, the Vanguard Forum held a special discussion on Woman Today. The meeting drew over 125 people, mostly women. who had a great deal to say about women's inferior status today.

Anne Davidson, liaison officer of the Association for the Modernization of Canadian Abortion Laws, called for legalized abortion on request. She charged that society directs women into rigidly defined sex roles, and that a woman's sole purpose in life is supposed to be bearing and raising children.

Ruth Tate, co-author of the League for Socialist Action brief on The Status of Women Today, charged that the second class citizenship of women is "part and parcel of capitalist society." Women, she said, form a reserve of cheap labor, to be moved on and off the labor market according to the economic needs of the moment. They are channelled into low paying, low status jobs. They are tied by a thousand strings to their home and family, where they are expected to raise their children to fit into a profitmotivated society. Any gains they may make are as often as not taken

Panel chairman Jacquie Henderson, of the Toronto Young Socialists, described the discrimination against young women in Canadian society. The educational system steers them into arts and commercial courses, and discourages them from going to university. They are denied the right to birth control so that thousands every year are forced to seek illegal abortions or enter into hasty marriages.

In the discussion that followed, women speaking from the floor demanded that the government take action to improve their situation. through such measures as providing day care centers for working mothers, free birth control for all women regardless of age, equal

minimum wage laws for men and women, and an end to all job discrimination against women.

Copies of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière brief to the Royal Commission were available at the meeting. The brief comments about such proposals as those above:

"As long as capitalist society prevails, whatever gains woman establishes, in material form and in status, are always tentative and in jeopardy. The implementation of these proposals would represent a marked advance towards removing capitalism, the social and productive basis of woman's subjugation: and at the same time take us forward to the establishment of a new society socialism."

(K.P.)



WOMEN'S RIGHTS. LSA brief to Royal Commission on the Status of Women got a good response from audience at Toronto hearings. Ruth Tate (inset) presented the brief.

### **Red Power** Candidate

A Red Power candidate, Carole Lavallée, is contesting the election in the Meadow Lake riding in Saskatchewan. The young Cree woman, aged 23, is the candidate of the recently-formed Native Action Committee, which seeks local control of government and education in Métis and Indian communities.

Carole Lavallée's nomination is the first major activity of the Committee, which was established to stage demonstrations, sit-ins and strikes to draw attention to the plight of the native peoples of Saskatchewan. Among its immediate aims, the Committee wants removal of church control and influence in native schools, rewriting of school text-books to tell the truth about Indian history and culture, and government-subsidized industries to be established in Indian and Métis communities, to be managed by the local native peoples.

In an interview in the current issue of Canadian Dimension, Dr. Howard Adams, of the Native Action Committee, explains the motives behind their nomination of a candidate in the election. "Canada," he says, is "a society based on white supremacy. . . We are definitely colonial people. . . The most important thing we have to do is to develop a political awareness of the situation among our people. It is exceedingly important that we organize and unite as a racial group and that we operate from a base of political power."

The Saskatchewan Native Action Committee is taking up the struggle for a long oppressed people, just as the NDP accepted the challenge of fighting for labor political power. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the NDP will support the Meadow Lake campaign.



PARIS, June 1. Protesting de Gaulle's May 30 threat of civil war, 20,000 to 30,000 students marched through the Latin Quarter. The militant demonstration took place despite opposition from the Communist party and the CP-led General Federation of Labor.

## B.C. Petition Seeks End To French Repression

The Students Council of Simon Fraser University and leading figures in the Vancouver NDP and labor and student movements have already endorsed and signed the following petition protesting de Gaulle's outlawing of left-wing organizations. The petition is being circulated by the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Victims of De Gaulle Repression, c/o Brian Waite, pro-tem chairman, 101 East 7th, Apt. 404, Vancouver 10, B.C. Tel. 879-1177; 688-2594; 681-3847.

"During the past weeks, the world has witnessed a dramatic struggle by the people of France against the intolerable social and political conditions created by an authoritarian government totally insensitive to even their basic needs. Sparked by the actions of the student population, the protest quickly spread through all of France, developing into the largest general strike in history.

"The response of the deGaulle government to this massive outpouring of grievances was not only to ignore the demands of the vast majority of the French population, but to brand them as subsersive and dangerous, declare his rule over the country, and threaten the use of the army against the workers in the factories and the students in the schools and universities.

"It is with deep concern now that Canadians have learned that the deGaulle government has continued and deepened its repression. In the past week an unconfirmed number of students and workers have been killed by the brutal actions of the specially trained riot police. The government has banned demonstrations and warned that any would be 'pitilessly' suppressed.

"In addition the deGaulle govern-

(See page 2)

### Appeal from French Youth

The Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) of France which played a leading role in sparking and sustaining the student and worker struggle in the May-June upsurge, has issued an urgent appeal for funds, to enable it to cope with the government repression and to extend its activities in the next stage of the struggle.

All statements of solidarity and funds should be forwarded via the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 32 Cecil St., Toronto 2B. Funds should be earmarked: JCR Solidarity Fund.

### ... Petition

(Continued from page 1)

ment has banned and outlawed revolutionary student and labor organizations, and arrested some of their leaders. Up to sixty foreign journalists have been expelled from France along with two Canadian students.

"The scope and gravity of these actions against the French people are further revealed with reports that deGaulle is now preparing a coalition with right wing fascist generals.

"In the light of this deteriorating situation, and the threat to the rights and well-being of the French people, we Canadians who solidarize with the just struggle of the French workers and farmers and students, and with the victims of the de Gaulle repression call upon the government of France to:

"(1) Immediately lift the ban on the proscribed political organizations. (2) Release immediately all political prisoners. (3) Re-affirm the right of free access of foreign journalists to France. (4) Immediately end its brutal repression of demonstrations and its attacks on the civil liberties of the French people."

Jim Harding, 1st vice-president, SFU Student Council; Dodie Weppler, secretary of the SFU Student Council; C. P. (Paddy) Neale, secretary, Vancouver Labor Council; Bob Clair, 2nd vice-president, Local 217, Vancouver, of the International Woodworkers of America, editor of The Barker; Mordecai Briemberg, assistant professor, PSA Dep't at SFU; Frank Snowsell, NDP federal candidate, Capilano; Bill Deverell. NDP candidate, Vancouver Center federal; Garth Brown, NDP, Vancouver East; Dan McLeod, editor, Georgia Straight; Carol Anne Power, Communist Party; John Mate, UBC student; Amy Dalgleish, provincial executive member, BC NDP and treasurer of the Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (CCEWV); Joyce Meissenheimer, Organizing Committee of the CCEWV; Judy Peterson, secretary of the CCEWV; Earl Mattingly, Surrey NDP and Surrey Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Ken Turner, Burnaby NDP; Phil Courneyeur of the League for Socialist Action; Beverly Gibbs, Young Socialists; and others.

The above petition has been endorsed by the Student Council of Simon Fraser University (SFU).

# HE WORKERS HUARD

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Federal Elections

## Win, Lose, Draw, ... The NDP Campaign NDP Votes Win

by The Editors

As we go to press the federal election campaign is winding up. By he time you read this, the ballots will have been tallied.

Whether the NDP loses or gains more votes, whether it loses or ains more seats, whether it fails to win the balance of power or the najority that would be required to even initiate, let alone carry out, a erious program of social change, the only votes that count are those olled up behind the NDP.

They are the votes that point to a serious possibility of working people in this country coming to grips with the problems confronting hem and shaping out a new society — a socialist future for Canada. To be sure, the NDP leadership did not identify the party with cialism. But they did talk about the present situation that confronts he working people under this capitalist system that is serviced by the iberal and Tory parties. And in this sense this election campaign narked a tremendous stride forward for the whole movement, which must not be allowed to slide back from.

In all previous campaigns the leadership has bent every effort to resent the NDP as merely another, a third party, and energetically pught the good will of the opponent boss parties, attempting to estabsh the respectability of the party and so win middle class support. In his campaign, the NDP broke from that suicidal course, firmly identied itself with the trade union movement, and directed its appeal to he working class.

This was made all the easier by the fact that the Liberals and Tories ere hell-bent on ending the continued parliamentary deadlock that is

(Continued from page 1)

having a debilitating effect on their forces, and exerted every effort to realign voting patterns and overcome that deadlock within the old-line party framework. Trudeau and Stanfield attempted to outdo one another in a mock concern over the taxpayers' dollars, and clearly dissociated themselves from anything that could be likened to welfare state-ism - leaving that field almost entirely to the NDP.

The NDP candidates moved into the gap and talked up the main issues confronting the people of this country: the housing crisis, soaring prices, pollution and destruction of natural resources, the crucial question of Ottawa's complicity in the U.S. State Department's dirty war of aggression in Vietnam. They talked on the issues, and thereby presented the party as the only one that is in any way opposed to the whole trend of things. But they failed to present an alternative program.

The candidates did not probe beneath the surface to reveal the root cause of the situation — the capitalist system — nor did they outline a rounded program of actions that would have to be taken to rectify the situation. Thus the party was highly vulnerable to Liberal-Tory charges of pie-in-the-sky promises.

We are unable to say just what effect this grave lack, and the Liberal-Tory exposure, will have on the vote. But we do know that a programless campaign prevents the movement from getting all it could from the gigantic and costly electioneering effort. It leaves the whole struggle for social change entirely in the arena of the periodic election. It doesn't educate forces to work on the general arena of the class struggle on a day-to-day basis.

But this campaign certainly heightened interest in the NDP. It also points up the need for the socialists in the party to broaden their struggle to win the party to a class struggle program.

(See page 7)

Editor: ROSS DOWSON Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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### Statement By YS/LJS

Gary Porter, executive secretary of the Young Socialists/Lique des Jeunes Socialistes, the Canadian counterpart of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR -Revolutionary Communist Youth). issued a statement June 14 labelling de Gaulle's move "an outrageous and dictatorial move against the very organizations which have inspired the . . . great democratic resurgence of the French people."

"Together with the outlawing of all meetings and demonstrations," Porter declared, "the banning of these groups shows how de Gaulle's regime is preparing to turn back the struggles of the entire French working class and to end what he calls the 'glory' of France in a fascist dictatorship."

Similar statements were issued around the same time by the Edmonton Young Socialists and the Vancouver League for Socialist Action.

Demonstrations at French consulates and information agencies are being held June 22 in cities across North America, in solidarity with the French workers and students and to protest de Gaulle's outlawing of revolutionary organizations and his ban on public demonstrations.

In Vancouver, the student council at Simon Fraser University has scheduled a demonstration in the Mall, and a "teach-in" on Friday, June 21 at noon. The Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Victims of De Gaulle Repression will be demonstrating at the French consulate the next day.

Other demonstrations are scheduled in Edmonton, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal.

### Don't Miss

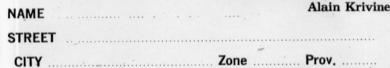
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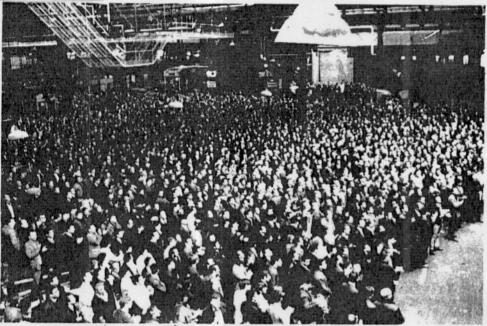
IN MONTREAL La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, 66 rue Guilbault O., Montréal 18, Qué.

IN OTTAWA Workers Vanguard, Station D, Box 2165

IN TORONTO League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St.

IN EDMONTON League for Socialist Action. 11129-89th Ave.

IN VANCOUVER League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville



TAKE-OVER AT RENAULT. Some of the 40,000 workers, who seized the huge auto works in suburban Paris.

## How the Action Committees Were Formed in Struggle

By Mary-Alice Waters

PARIS, June 12-During the weeks of the revolutionary upsurge in France, the radicalizing masses were constantly searching for ways and means to express their new-found political consciousness in action. There were two central problems they had to overcome. The first was the size and influence of the Communist Party which tried to block every revolutionary initiative taken by the masses and turn it back into "safe" channels. The second was the small size of the organized revolutionary vanguard in comparison with the powerful Communist Party machine

The search for solutions to these problems gave rise to widespread improvisation by the masses; but the initiatives they took led to essentially the same forms of organization that have come into being in other revolutionary situations.

The organizational nucleus of the previously unorganized vanguard was the Action Committee, a form that first developed at the university and rapidly spread to other layers of the population. As tens of thousands of students, comprising the first sector to move into action, became politically involved for the first time in their lives, they felt the need for some form of coordination and cohesion. As a result they formed committees in each of their schools, and these in turn became rapidly tied together by a general assembly which met as often as necessary to plan activities and demonstrations.

As other sectors of the population moved into action, the committees spread. Their

most logical extension would have been into the factories themselves where, as strike committees or under some other name, they would have created the nuclei of workers' councils, of a dual power. This logical extension of the committees was blocked by the Communist Party which, through its control of the CGT (General Federation of Labor) set up appointed strike committees to prevent just such a development from taking place. They then sent the masses of workers home. In a very small number of factories, representative, elected strike committees were formed, but such developments were few and far between.

Despite the difficulties in forming action committees in the major factories, they did, however, spill over into the various residential districts, particularly in Paris but also in other parts of the country. Often initiated by the students, an open meeting would be called to which anyone in the area who was interested was invited, and the resulting formations represented a genuine cross-section of the population.

Another form of Action Committee also emerged. There were hundreds and hundreds of young workers who came to the Sorbonne, the real nerve center of the entire revolutionary vanguard, asking for help, advice, discussion and cooperation. Most were concerned with the same problems as the vanguard students - how to get around the stifling control of the CP bureaucracy in order to create a genuine mass revolutionary movement. As a result, student-worker Action Committees were established to further joint action.

The Action Committees in the districts were the most important in mobilizing thousands of people who were searching for leadership and explanation of the momentous events surrounding them. These committees called meetings, organized demonstrations, distributed leaflets, put up posters, supported workers who were occupying shops and small industries in their district, and even organized some of the occupations themselves. For instance, the one-day occupation of the national headquarters of the French employers association was organized by Action Com-

They functioned on the basis of minimal structure and no definite worked-out program. As agitation and action groups, they served as organizing nuclei which corresponded to the needs of the masses. In some parts of the country, such as Nantes, they did, in effect, begin to take on the functions of a revolutionary govern-

All political tendencies were free to work in the Action Committees and many of them did. Thus some committees were known as generally Maoist-oriented, others as committees which usually agreed with the line of activity projected by the Trotskyists, others as anarchists, etc. The Communist Party, on the other hand, set up a network of parallel "Action Committees for a Popular Government" in order to try to compete with the Action Committees and create confusion as to their nature.

Now that the revolutionary upsurge has been brought to a halt by the joint action of the state and the Communist Party, the activity of the mobilized masses has already begun to fall off. As a result, their elementary form of organization that corresponded to the needs of the upsurge has subsided. What will happen to them next remains to be seen. But it can be said that the Action Committees played a vanguard role of central importance in the developments of May 1968.





YOUNG SOCIALISTS CONFRONT COMMISSION, Kate Porter makes a point as the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes present their brief to members of the government's Royal Commission on the Status of Women (foreground). Other members of the YS/LJS committee are, from right Jacquie Henderson, Gary Porter, and Diane

## Young People Urge Wider Use of Pill

by Kate Porter

TORONTO - One Toronto daily described it as "an unflappable group of commissioners keeping their cool amid a shower of fireworks from a group of young people calling themselves the Young Socialists." That about sums up the effect of the delegation from the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes when they presented their brief on the status of women to the government's Royal Commission here on June 6.

The YS/LJS is a group of high school, university and working youth. The text of their brief, which deals with the problems of young student women, is contained in the May-June issue of Young Socialist

In presenting the brief, Kate Porter cited such demands as student power, an end to big business control of the education system, birth control centers in all places of learning, free day-care centers for children of all student mothers, and coeducational residences.

The brief explained, "Secondary school girls are consciously streamed away from the maths and sciences into commercial and arts courses, thus preparing them for relatively unskilled, underpaid jobs. They are prepared for their special role in the economy - that of a reserve of labor to be shunted on and off the labor market to meet the economic needs of the moment. Girls invariably outnumber boys in the commercial courses, in some provinces by a ratio of ten to one.

Gary Porter told the commission that the only way children of all educational and financial classes could be assured of equal opportunities would be if government supported nurseries and day care, centers were available free of charge. Diane Mossman, a university student, told the commission that it was "big business control of the universities that leads to discrimination against women students - the same big business interests that use university facilities to do research for war producing companies. Canadian students, for instance, are now calling for an end to the involvement of Canadian campuses and the Canadian government in the war in Vietnam.

That did it! She was cut off by the commissioners, who said that politics and the government had no place at commission hearings.

The Young Socialists brief also calls for special encouragement for women students in the fields from which they have traditionally been excluded, such as mathematics and science. "Does this mean," the commission asked, "that you're in favor of giving women an edge at the expense of men?"

"Sure, we're in favor of giving women-the edge for a while," replied panelist Jacquie Henderson. 'After all, men have had the edge for thousands of years. Women should be given a chance to catch up. But it's not the male students who discriminate against women it's the big money interests that run the universities. The universities should be run by the students!"

She also suggested to the commission that it concern itself more with the problems of young women, by publishing briefs submitted to it by youth organizations, and by including high school and university students on the commission.

### Rally for Medicare

by Jean Rands

REGINA, June 16 - About 500 people from across Saskatchewan participated in a march and rally here today to protest the provincial Liberal government's introduction of deterrent fees for medical and hospital care. The demonstration was 'called to coincide with the national' convention of the Canadian Medical Association being held here, and to call attention to the role of the Association in this attempt to erode the benefits which the medicare plan has brought to the people of this province.

One slogan carried by a marcher pointed out, "Deterrent fees can't stop people from being sick BUT they can stop people from getting well." The fact that the fees deter only the poor and the sick from receiving adequate medical attention was pointed out by several speakers

at the rally.

The rally was chaired by Len Wallace of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor, and speakers included Dr. John Bury of Saskatoon, Rev. K. Ashman of Moose Jaw, Dr. S. Wolfe of Saskatoon and Prof. Howard Adams, of the University of Saskatchewan.

A highlight of the demonstration was the participation of a bus load of native Indians and Métis from Green Lake, almost 400 miles from Regina. They carried their own signs denouncing deterrent fees as "genocide for natives" and declaring they would mean "Death to the Liberal Government." As their spokesman on the platform, Howard Adams pointed out that Indians and Métis would be particularly affected by the legislation's discrimination against the poor, and urged the participants in the rally to support Carole Lavallée, the candidate of the Saskatchewan Native Action Committee in Meadow Lake federal constituency which includes Green

Berry Richards of Prince Albert called on the demonstrators to be prepared to mobilize again to defend their rights, and the gains made under the CCF/NDP government, against the Liberal provincial and federal governments. His appeal for funds raised \$565 towards the work of the Committees of Citizens for the Defense of Medicare.

### SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

### On Schedule!

by Allan Engler

Cross-Country Drive Director

Edmonton supporters of the Van-'guard were the first to go over the top on their quota. Our correspondent there writes that they're aiming for 100 subscriptions now.

The last issue of the Vanguard, featuring special reports from France, got a very good response right across the country. In southern Ontario, over 350 single copies were sold at plant gates. And on the Prairies, 170 copies were sold at the Douglas NDP rally in Edmonton. An Edmonton supporter sold over

70 single copies and 14 subbscriptions at the big NDP rally in Saskatoon, and another 30 copies at the University of Saskatchewan.

Montreal did not send us a report, but they have just brought out a special issue of *La Lutte Ouvrière* dealing with the French events, which they plan to se'll widely throughout the Montreal area.

Most of the subs in the "General" column were sent in by supporters in the Niagara peninsula.

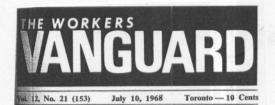
The results as of June 16, with the drive at the three-quarter mark, were:

AREA	QUOTA	ACHIEVED	P	ERCENT
Edmonton	75	78		104%
Toronto	425	352		83
Vancouver		239	*	80
Hamilton	50	38		74
Ottawa		55		55
Montreal	100	29 (no report since June		29
General		. 19		_
TOTAL	1050	810		77%

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## Berkeley Free Speech Struggle Victorious, p. 3



TRUDEAU CONFRONTED. Trudeaumania didn't grab these anti-war activists in Vancouver, who took advantage of the Prime Minister's Chinatown rally on June 16 to confront him with their opposition to his government's complicity with U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The Vietnam Day Committee, which organized the protest, campaigned throughout the election on the Vietnam issue; its widely-circulated leaflet featured a speech by Stephen Lewis, MPP, to the Ontario legislature, excerpts from NDP leader T. C. Douglas' Halifax speech where he dissociated the party from NATO, and quotes from Hellyer, Stanfield and Trudeau exposing their support of U.S. aims.

The action was similar to those of other anti-war groups across the country, centered on the theme: "Vote Against the War Parties June 25."

## **TrudeaumaniaWins OP Remains Firm**

# NDP, Unionists Protest Fr. Ban

Prominent NDPers and trade unionists have signed a petition demanding the lifting of the ban on revolutionary organizations and the release of arrested leaders of the students and workers in France. The petition was a protest against the banning of eleven revolutionary groups including Trotskyists, pro-Maoists, and Anarchists on June 12 and 13, and the jailing of revolutionary leaders on June 14.

Several hundred Canadians signed petition, including leading NDPers David Lewis, Laurier La-Pierre, Andrew Brewin, Robert Cliche, and Wally Ross, B.C. provincial secretary; trade union leaders Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labor and C.P. Neale, secretary of the Vancouver Labor Council; as well as Gary Porter, executive secretary of the Young Socialists/Ligue Jeunes Socialistes; Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière; the Student Council of Simon Fraser Uuniversity; Morris, reporter for the Canadian Tribune; and Joe Young, chairman, Student Association to End the War in Vietnam.

Demonstrations also took place on June 22 in Edmonton, Vancouver, Ottawa, and Toronto. These demonstrations were co-ordinated with protests at French consulates in a dozen U.S. cities.

A world-wide movement of protest has begun to get significant support despite the criminal silence of the French Communist Party and its supporters around the world in the face of the Gaullist repression. In Britain 100 Labor MPs including four members of the National ecutive Committee of the La Party appealed to de Gaulle to the ban on the outlawed revoluti ary organizations and release the rested leaders.

In Berkeley, California, a deme stration called on June 28 by Young Socialist Alliance in solid ity with the banned revolution organizations, led to a six-day bar with police in which students erec barricades and finally won the ri to hold demonstrations on To graph Avenue, unmolested by police.

On July 6 in Toronto, Mary Al Waters, national secretary of Young Socialist Alliance, who I been to France for a month dun the height of the workers' and dents' struggles, as a reporter for t weekly socialist paper The Milita and who had been expelled by Gaulle, addressed an open session the convention of the Young cialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialist She reported that the French rev lutionary youth were inspired by solidarity shown them in Nor America.

After she spoke a collection over one hundred dollars was take to be sent to the Jeunesse Comm niste Revolutionnaire (JCR), the ter organization of the YS/LJS. 1 JCR, which played a leading part the recent struggles in France, among the banned organizations.

Those wishing to contribute the defense of all the banned rev lutionary groups can send cheques "Emil Van Ceulen, Secretaire, For de Solidarité contre la Répressi en France, 111 Avenue Seghe Brussels 8, Belgium.

### SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE-

### All But Over the Top

CITY	QUOTA	SUBS	PERCENT OF QUO
Edmonton	75	79	105%
Vancouver	300	284	95
Toronto & Ham	ilton 475	390	82
Ottawa	100	65	65
Montreal	100	58	58
Niagara Penninsu		21	50
General	······ —	5	- 4
TOTAL	1050	897	87%

### by Allan Engler

Cross-Country Drive Director

Final figures show that we got 897 new subscriptions during the six week Vanguard-La Lutte Ouvrière sub drive. While this is only slightly less than 90 percent of our original quota of 1,000 new readers, it marks a significant step forward for the circulation of the socialist press in Canada.

The drive took place during a period of intense political activity. Supporters of the Vanguard were campaigning for the NDP. As well, our responsibility to publicize the inspiring revolutionary developments in France meant that the subscription efforts were curtailed somewhat in favor of mass single copy sales.

We put out two eight page issues with eyewitness reports on the French workers' and students' struggles. During the last two weeks of the drive, supporters of the *Vanguard* sold over 1,200 copies of the first of the issues on France. Over 300 were sold at plants and campuses in southern Ontario. 480 copies were sold on the prairies, mainly at NDP rallies.

A special issue of La Lutte Ouvrière on France has also been put out recently.

Edmonton is to be congratulated for surpassing its quota. The subscriptions from the Niagara peninsula were especially inspiring, since we had not expected such a response from that area at the beginning of the drive. Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal supporters have

indicated that they will pick up remainder of their quotas during summer.

Of special interest was a refrom the Vancouver drive direct that supporters got subscription their places of work. One to unionist got seven subs in his places are important subs, since the make new readers of people meet on a sustained day-to-day be

We urge our supporters to s in such subscriptions the year roll Sub workers report an increased terest in the socialist press: should seek out those interes workers in our shops and off and give them the opportunity to ceive a class-struggle viewpoint a regular basis.

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by Novack & Hansen
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## Hands Off Czechoslovakia!

## Posties Firm, Gov't Stalls

by a Postal Striker

July 22 - The first legal strike July 22 — The first legal strike by the country's 24,000 postal work-ers remains solid, with no serious etllement offer in sight from the overnment. The men walked off their jobs July 18 at 5 a.m., after eer jobs July 18 at 5 a.m., after x months of fruitless negotiations. The Council of Postal Unions, presenting the Canadian Union of ostal Workers and the Letter Carers Union of Canada, turned down ous report of the conciltion board set up to deal with rages and working conditions in be post office. Last-minute mediale post office. Last-minute mediaion by Judge René Lippé failed
when the union negotiators turned
fown an "insulting" offer of 15
sents an hour on a 14-month contract to September this year. The
outles are demanding 75 cents an
our plus changes in working conditions and fringe benefits.
The strike is solid, and morale is
igh. Postal operations are shut
lown from coast to coast, with 24key nicket lines in most places and

our picket lines in most places and icket pools in big centers to bolter the lines around the smaller ost offices. Although they have no trike pay, members are determined a stick it out with loans from the credit union to pay for rent and roceries. Drivers for the private ail contractors in the major cities re refusing to cross picket lines. dere in Toronto, women members are putting the men to shame by loing more than their share of The few members duty. don't do picket duty are being treat-d as scabs.

The postal strike is particularly important because its outcome will influence the negotiations for an-other 165,000 federal civil servants iven bargaining rights under the ew Public Service Act. 90,000 of m are already bargaining with public he government. Despite wide sathy for the posties, the federal vernment seems determined not budge from its rigid six percent er two years guidelines which it



Postal Strikers

is trying to enforce in wage offers ross the country.
Prime Minister Trudeau's pleas

"not to squeeze the lemon" and his fatuous claim that "it's the public fatuous claim that "it's the public that pays" don't cut any ice with the postal workers. The strikers are well aware that the post office operates as a commercial concern, and that extra revenue to cover its current deficit could easily be made up by a small increase in the subsidized
(See page 3)

Socialist Democratization is Menaced by Kremlin Rulers

July 21 — In the past month and a half, the Kremlin leaders, along with their bureaucratic allies in East-ern Europe, have mounted an everincreasing campaign of maneuvers, threats and pressures against anti-Stalinist leadership of Czechoslovak Communist Party headed by Alexander Dubcek. This headed by Alexander Dubcek. This vicious campaign constitutes a direct danger to the inspiring gains achieved by the people of Czechosłovakia in their struggle for a full-fledged socialist democracy.

With thousands of Soviet troops still deep in Czechosłovakia weeks after the Warsaw Pact maneuvers

have ended, the grave prospect direct military intervention by the Soviet bureaucrats remains. This is indicated by the slanderous cam-paign in the Soviet press charging that the "democratization" process in that the democratization process in Czechoslovakia is the work of "counter-revolutionary" forces and comparing the Czech revolt with that of the heroic Hungarian workers in 1956 which was murderously put down by Soviet troops and tanks. As part of this vile campaign, the Soviet press is making a great uproar about the discovery of a cache of allegedly American arms — although the Czechoslovak authorities have disclosed that the quantity of arms was negligible and that the equipment was obsolete.

While no doubt the imperialist owers would like to intervene to their own ends, there is nothing in the Czechoslovak struggle they can turn to their advantage, Stalinist lies,

turn to their advantage, Stainist lies notwithstanding.

A poll conducted in May by the Czechoslovak Institute for Public Opinion of the Academy of Sciences reports that no less than 76 percent reports that no less than 16 percent of the people think that recent changes will "strengthen socialism," while a tiny minority of only 1.5 percent think political conditions would be improved by restoration of private enterprise.

Protest Meetings

More important, there are indications of increasingly direct participa-tion in the struggle by the Czecho-slovak people themselves. The net effect of the blatant intervention of e Kremlin bosses on behalf of the old-line Stalinists in the Czechoslovak CP has strengthened the resolve of the peoples of that country to Globe and Mail reported:
. Protest meetings are being held in factories throughout the country demanding the withdrawal of the Soviet forces - while assur-



DEFEND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. Toronto pickets march in rally July 20 to protest Soviet threats to invade Czechoslovakia and reverse the movement for socialist democratization. Rally was initiated by the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists.

ing the Russians of Czechoslovakia's Witnesses reported dship. . . Witnesses reported this time it was different, that this time it was the workers who were speaking and not the paid party functionaries." Thus far, it appears that the re-forming wing of the Czechoslovak CP leadership has remained firm in face of the considerable pressure, although at the time of writing there

**Canadian Troops Train** For Vietnam-Style War

"Are Canadian troops now going be sent to die in the inferno of Vietnam?" asks a leaflet released by victnam? asks a learnet released by the Toronto-based Victnam Mobil-ization Committee (VMC). The leaflet reveals that at Camp Peta-wawa, north of Ottawa, the Cana-dian armed forces have established

a mock south-east Asian village where troops are being trained in guerrilla warfare. Reporters say they have been refused permission to ob-

serve these facilities.
The VMC asks:
"Is it not possible that in the face of continuing defeat the U.S. gov-ernment will attempt to involve its allies like Canada in the war directly or under the guise of some 'peace-keeping' force? You can be quite sure that when the government trains our sons in guerrilla warfare it intends to use them, and not in

This leaflet could inaugurate an important new educational campaign by anti-war forces to expose this ominous new evidence of Canada's complicity in the war. It is part of the continuing work of the Cana-dian anti-war movement, which is picking up after a slight lull as it becomes clear to people that the U.S. government is using the talks in D.S. government is using the lattis in Paris as a cover for further escala-tion. American casualties have reached the highest levels yet. As many soldiers were killed in the first six months of this year as were killed in all of last year. The volume of bombing in the north is greater than 'ever, despite the limitation

bombing to below the 20th parallel. In Toronto, the Vietnam Mobilization Committee has established the first continuing center for the antiwar movement in that city. The center is staffed full-time by the committee's executive secretary, Joe Young. It is being developed as a distribution center for literature, speakers and films for anti-war activists across the country. Every

aid in the continuing work against the war. As well, the VMC is planning an art auction to be held in the fall to raise money for the cen-ter and upcoming mobilizations. Already Pierre Berton and Farley Mowat have agreed to become co-

Mowat have agreed to become co-chairmen of the auction.

Montreal activists in the Voix du Québec sur le Vietnam (Voice of Quebec on Vietnam) are circulating issue number 3 of their bulletin, Le Vietnam et Nous. It contains a special report on the complicity of the Quebec government of Daniel Johnson, including a lengthy list of Quebec companies engaged in war

production.

These developments in the Canadian anti-war movement take place as the movement around the world prepares for new mobilizations this fall. South of the border, the crisis in the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) has been resolved in favor of those who wanted the com-mittee to continue as a single-issue anti-war movement aimed at mobil-izing masses of Americans in the streets against the Vietnam war. At the recent Continuations Committee meeting, it was decided to support local actions throughout the States and the world Aug. 3-10 around the anniversary of the bombing of Hiro-shima. It was also decided that at the September conference of the SMC, a date will be set for a fall mobilization around the world for the immediate withdrawal of American forces, prior to the November presidential elections.

In conjunction with the American call for actions August 3-10, the Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto has arranged to show Felix Greene's film "Inside North nam" on August 11. This will be the first time the movie has been shown in Ontario. It is also known that in Vancouver and other centers, com-mittees are planning solidarity ac-tions on these days.

### WA Splits on B.C. Wood Talks

Five weeks after the June 15 conct expiry, the coast wood industry gotiations were wound up with agreement between the Interal Woodworkers of America ) and Forest Industrial Relans (FIR), which bargains for the companies concerned. The orandum recommends an 18 and an hour increase across the ard in each year of a two-year atract. This package falls far ort of the original union demand a 50 cents an hour increase one-year contract.

the IWA negotiating committee the ill negotiating committee the right down the middle in a 6 to local presidents including Syd bompson (Vancouver 1-217) and control of the right of the right of the right of the control of the right of the eddon Jubenville (Duncan 1-80) ted against. Jack Moore, the re-onal president of the IWA, broke in favor of capitulation to

The executive officers of the Vaner local unanimously recommended rejection, as did the Dun-

Numerous calls for Moore's resignation set the tone for an all-round condemnation of the Moore leadership. The July issue of The Barker, official voice of the Vancouver local 217, and voice of the Thompson supporters in the IWA, openly con-fronted Moore. The Barker editorialized:

"The sorriest spectacle wood-workers have observed in recent years was the regional president's public display of belly-crawling in front of the eyes and ears of the press. Jack Moore's despicable performance so sickens the spirit of the woodworkers that the IWA members will need years to recover from the loss of respect and dignity.

No doubt it will take even longer for IWA members to recover from the paltry 6 percent settlement in the face of mounting inflation.

Syd Thompson's opposition to the settlement as "second best — not

good enough" does not go very far. He does not criticize the 18-and-18 pay packet, but the failure of the negotiating committee to get more holidays. He says, ". . Until the last day or two the committee did an exceptionally good job in wring-ing out more than what the em-ployers initially had intended to jar loose with . . . unfortunately under the lack of leadership of chairman Moore, the employers still managed to win the day. There is no doubt in my mind that additional vacations with pay were there for the taking if the necessary leadership had been provided." As for additional pay, Thompson does not say.

The preconditions for this unsatisfactory settlement were made, according to Thompson in the savon

cording to Thompson, in the seven and a half months strike in the in-terior. The "foolish leadership" of Jack Moore led to a "disaster . the union, depleted its finances

down by \$3 million — and in-

(See page 2)

# VANGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 22 (154)

July 29, 1968

Toronto - 10 Cents

# Hands Off Czechoslovakia!

## Socialist Democratization i Menaced by Kremlin Rule

by John Wilson

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DEFEND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. Toronto pickets n rally July 20 to protest Soviet threats to invade Czechoslovi reverse the movement for socialist democratization. Rally was by the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists.

ing the Russians of Czechoslovakia's friendship. . . Witnesses reported that this time it was different, that this time it was the workers who were speaking and not the paid party functionaries."

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(See page 2)

## Anti-War Group Hits Occupation

The following condemnation of the Soviet and allied invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia was issued Aug. 26 by the Toronto-based Vietnam Mobilization Committee, under the names of its executive secretary, Joe Young, and executive member Rev. Vern Kimball:

The Vietnam Mobilization committee bases its position on Vietnam on the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determinaion. We cannot be silent when this right is violated in Czechoslovakia. The Kremlin has prevented the Czechoslovak people from following their own road to cialism much in the same way hat the Americans have attemptd to suppress the national liberaon struggle in Vietnam. The SSR's justified protest against merican aggression in Vietnam gravely undercut by its actions Czechoslovakia. Its reasons for being there are just as fallacious s those the American State Deartment employs in the case of letnam.

The supporters of American agression in Vietnam like Prime dinister Trudeau and External affairs Minister Sharp are "dispointed" by the events in zechoslovakia. Their words are a much hypocrisy when matched with their shameless role as minitions suppliers and diplomatic apologists for American atacks on Vietnam.

We, who have consistently apported the Vietnamese strugle for self-determination, stand whind the Czechoslovaks as well. lef-determination is the right of all peoples. The people of Czechovakia are no exception.

## NDP Must Go Left, Critics Tell Douglas

by Dick Fidler

Another attempt to analyse the significance of the election for the NDP is found in an "Open Letter to Tommy Douglas," which appeared in translation in the July 13 issue of the Montreal daily, Le Devoir. The authors, Jim Harding and John Conway, played leading roles as staff members in the recent upheavals at Simon Fraser University. Both were leading figures a few years ago in the Saskatchewan NDP and New Democratic Youth, and have been associated with the broad spectrum of youth radicalism commonly designated as "New Left."

"Your personal defeat, and the absence of NDP gains across the country," they tell Douglas, "illustrate the mortal weakness of our party's timid and ambiguous policy."

Harding and Conway point out that the NDP's "watered-down policies, hesitant programs, and spineless candidates" failed completely to produce the hoped-for results on the electoral plane. Clearly, they say, a turn to the left is reguired. "The NDP confined itself to raising some particular issues without presenting the analysis and revolutionary program which are necessary if we are to give people a real substitute to continentalism and Liberalism. . . It's high time . . . to devote ourselves to a radical analysis of our country, an analysis situated in the larger context of the entire world." Such an analysis would take account, they suggest, of the anti-imperialist conclusions which must follow from opposition to Canada's present commitment to U.S. aggression in south-east Asia, and the official violence which is being brought to bear on the oppressed minorities (eg., Blacks and Indians) in North America.

Although they do not spell out in any detail the specific nature of the program they think the NDP should adopt, Harding-Conway make clear that in their view the mass of Canadians are prepared to vote for more radical proposals than those presented so far by the NDP leadership. "Big Business Liberalism," they claim, "won the support of many city-dwellers because the NDP did not present them with a real alternative."

Harding and Conway weaken their case when they suggest the NDP cannot survive without an immediate reorientation to the left: "If the NDP does not, between now and the next elections, become an aggressive and radical party with a program, a leadership and an organization that reflect (a new) militancy and radicalism, it could well be swept off the electoral map." And it would be a serious error if socialists were to agree with their suggestion that the main obstacle to the party's radicalization is its firm ties with the trade union movement.

Even saddled with its totally inadequate reformist program, the NDP is more durably rooted than these critics imply. Moreover, its predecessor, the CCF, which did not enjoy such close links with the organized labor movement, was scarcely more radical.

But all socialist supporters of the NDP will sympathize with Harding-Conway's contention that the NDP must adopt and fight for a socialist program if if is to become more relevant to the Canadian electorate. And it is precisely that part of the electorate which makes up the organized workers of this country who must be in the vanguard of such a re-orientation to the left.

## Vanguard Tour Heading West

by Paul Swift

The 1968 Vanguard Tour is on its way. Four hardy young socialists have set out across Canada in a Volkswagen bus filled with literature.

The first leg of their trip was in southern Ontario. Leaving Toronto the morning after a swinging farewell party, the tour drove to London, Sarnia, and Windsor, where they knocked on doors, looking for new subscribers to the Vanguard and Young Socialist Forum. Free distributions of the Vanguard were well received at the General Motors plant in London and the Ford plant between St. Thomas and London.

In Sarnia, door-to-door canvassing was supplemented with some fruitful street sales, especially outside a showing of the anti-war movie, The War Game. About copies of Young Socialist Forwers sold. All the proceeds of Tour's sales go towards feeding tour members: one member in that you can sell literature of effectively when you know your meal depends on it!

After their stopover in Wind the foursome headed back for onto, stopping at Chatham to tribute the Vanguard at the structure to the Vanguard at the structure of the structure o

In the course of the sum their itinerary will take it through the Prairies all the wa Vancouver, and then back Toronto. Toronto Socialist Caucus Report -- August 19, 1968

## Sacialist Caucus Meeting, July 18, Election Evaluation

(see article in the July 29 Vanguard Which Way for the NDP")

All the speakers, four Federal candidates, one from Welland, one from Hamilton, and two from Toronto, were interested in further working together with the Caucus. All speakers said the NDP had failed to present a clear alternative to the big business parties.

Even John Harney, provincial secretary and a leading right-winger who was defeated in the Federal Election, expressed the need for a clearer alternative at a Spadina riding association meeting. However, the Ontario New Democrat has ignored the implications of the election.

We expect that the Caucus will be able to make new connections and broaden its support, and that the party will permit more discussion on program as a result of the poor showing in the election. This may open further during the future leadership competition. Such possibilities should be tested and the Caucus broadened wherever possible, since the Federal Convention of 1969 is not that far off.

### Ontario Convention

We are preparing position statements for the Ontario Convention which will be held 15 - 17 November in Kitchener. We will concentrate on the following: The need for continuous year-round activity in the NDP; The need for NDP slates in municipal Elections; Youth and education; Housing; Labor; Vietnam; and Public ownership.

### Bulletin

A bulletin will be sent out in mid-September containing an evaluation of the Federal Election, centering around the speeches made at the Caucus meeting in Toronto. plus news of the new developments in the Niagara area, and an insert for Ontario with our Convention positions.

IF ANY OTHER AREA HAS ANY ITEM TO BE INCLUDED PLEASE LET US HAVE THE NECESSARY INFORMATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

## **Protests Hit Jailing of** French Youth Leaders

by Les Evans

Alain Krivine, the internationally known French student leader, was indicted by a Paris court July 22 on charges of "reconstituting" the Jeun-esse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR - the Revolutionary Communist Youth), the organization of which he was a leader, which was declared "dissolved" in June by the de Gaulle regime. Twelve ofher alleged members of the JCR were also indicted. If convicted they can receive up to two years in prison.

Krivine and his wife Michèle were seized by the police July 16 and held secretly for several days, leaving their four-month-old daughter uncared for. Neither friends nor relatives could secure any positive information on their whereabouts, and it was feared the two had been kidnapped by one of the private ultraright groups which are now operating freely in France. It was finally learned that the couple was being held incommunicado by the police.

Michèle Krivine, who is the daughter of Giles Martinet, a well-known left-wing journalist, was released July 19

The JCR and the Parti Commu-



Alain Krivine

niste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Party - the French section of the Fourth International) were among 11 organizations declared dissovled June 12. They have challenged the decree as illegal.

Those indicted include Dominique Durand and Jean-Marie Fouquet, who were arrested in Rouen and

accused of distributing copies of the paper l'Etincelle ("The Spark"); a group of five youth arrested in Brest. accused of pasting up JCR leaflets; and a group of five arrested at a meeting of a student-worker Action Committee in Paris July 10, which the police have falsely claimed was a JCR meeting.

Three of those indicted have been released on bail, but the rest, including Alain Krivine are being held in the Santé prison. According to the July 24 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde the National Security Court has declared the defendants to be political prisoners, a special category under French law. Political prisoners are permitted to receive daily visits, maintain regular correspondence, and receive newspapers and books on nonpolitical subjects.

A wide protest and defense movement has been organized in France by an ad hoc committee led by Jean-Paul Sartre and the eminent mathematician Laurent Schwartz.

Other protests have come from many groups. The Organizing and Coordinating Committee for a United Revolutionary Movement, one of whose initiators is the physicist Jean-

(See page 3)

### rance

(Continued from page 1)

Paul Vigier, declared in a statement in the July 20 Le Monde that it "calls for the immediate release of Alain Krivine, the secretary of the JCR; it denounces the repression measures against the militants most devoted to the revolutionary ideas supported by the May movement. These police measures against the vanguard movements illustrate the government's duplicity. It mouths the word 'reform' only to camouflage better the basically reactionary and authoritarian character of the Gaullist regime."

An international aid campaign headed by veteran revolutionist and trade unionist Emil van Ceulen has been set up to raise funds for the legal defense of the victims of repression in France. Contributions and messages of support should be sent to Emil van Ceulen, Fonds de Solidarité contre la Répression en France, 111 Avenue Seghers, Brussels 8, Belgium.

### Summer Classes on Socialism

This is the summer of education for socialists across Canada. The League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists are holding summer classes and educationals in many areas of the country, aimed at strengthening the theoretical knowledge of socialists and introducing the ideas of socialism to new,

interested people.

Classes are being held in Ottawa every Thursday at 8 p.m. during August, at the Socialist Center, 238 Arlington Ave., Ottawa 4. Carole Oleniuk, Ottawa organizer of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, has just finished giving a two-part talk on The Logic of Marxism. Canadian History will be the subject of the next three weeks. August 15, 22, and 29, with George Addison, Ottawa organizer of the League for Socialist Action, making the presentations. They will each be followed by a full question and discussion period.

The Edmonton LSA has just com-

pleted its summer classes.

Meanwhile in Toronto, the second annual Socialist Summer School is in full swing. This consists of a series of four weekend classes, each weekend being divided into three sessions around a unified theme. The first two weekends, on The Politics of Reformism and Why Socialism? were very well attended, and accompanied by sunbathing sessions and an outdoor wiener roast. The next weekend is scheduled for August 17-18, on Cuba and the Permanent Revolution. The final weekend will be September 7-8, on the subject of The Revolutionary Party.

For more information on these activities, Toronto residents should call 922-6665 or 921-4627. Make this your summer of education, too!

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### Hemispheric Peace Rally

Montreal — Plans are proceeding for a Hemispheric Conference to End the Vietnam War, slated to be held here Oct. 12-14. The conference is to be a forum for anti-war forces of the Americas, and has gathered an impressive list of sponsors, including a number of Canadian labor and academic figures and the majority of the parliament of Chile.

Doubt was cast on the representative character of the action, however, by its organizers, who refused to admit Penny Simpson to the planning meeting of August 3. Miss Simpson is an activist in the Voix du Québec sur le Vietnam (VOV -Voice of Quebec on Vietnam). This exclusion is obviously tied to the political stand of the VQV, which demands immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. The Hemispheric Conference call in contrast appeals to the United States to stop the bombing of north Vietnam and then negotiate.

Perhaps the real purpose of the conference is hinted at by the reference to aiding the "peace forces" in the U.S. elections. Is it designed to buttress those largely discredited elements in the United States who want to keep anti-war opposition tied to

the two-party system?

Anti-war activists are looking to the next meeting of the organizing committee to answer this question. Surely if the conference is to mark a serious step forward against the war, it must be opened to all antiwar organizations and all points of view.

### Young Socialists Debate

# The Campus Revolt

by Gary Porter

Executive Secretary, Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

When McGill lecturer Stan Gray told an audience of eminent scholars at the Couchiching conference that student revolt could be expected in Canada, the Big Business dailies, were shocked. The austere Globe and Mail headlined: "Militant demonstrations by students predicted by Marxist from McGill."

But already, Canada has felt the tremors of student struggles that have been sweeping across the globe. Last year, McGill students occupied the Administration building to win the right of an uncensored student press. Recently Simon Fraser University students participated with the staff in forcing the university president to resign. Throughout the year, on campus after campus, protests and sit-ins occurred as students attempted to drive recruiters from war goods manufacturing companies off their campuses. Gray was simply stating facts.

But where is this developing student rebellion headed, and how can socialist students intervene in it?

These questions were intensely debated at the recent convention of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (YS/LJS). Student militants from across the country met in Toronto over the weekend of July 6-7 to draw a balance sheet on their experiences over the last year and project the course of their work in the coming year.

The convention noted that university enrollment in Canada has doubled from 150,000 in 1962 to a projected 300,000 this fall. This tremendous expansion flows from all that modern capitalism considers its essential "achievement"; the general if uneven economic expansion over the past thirty years and the resulting crisis of rising expectations among youth, the development of technology and the need for technicians in all areas of society. Students realize they need a higher education to win a decent life, and they expect to get it.

On arrival at university, however, students soon discover that the "academic community" has many problems. Although the fees are fantastically high, the student finds that he does not have the material facilities necessary for education. Universities are overcrowded, under-



photo by Mintz

YS/LJS CONVENTION. Mary-Alice Waters, national secretary of the U.S. Young Socialist Alliance, tells Young Socialists' convention of the revolt of French workers and students which she witnessed this spring.

staffed, and underequipped. They are huge knowlege factories permeated with a speed-up atmosphere. The student's life is dominated by the ever-present autocratic and paternalistic bureaucracy.

And always behind the administration, on the board of governors, stand the giants of the corporate world. Instead of the all-sided search for truth, students find their education a rigid, narrow-training for a job that may well be obsolete when they graduate. Universities are production lines for technicians who will accept the rule of private capital for forty years on the job.

The gap between what the university is and what the student rightly thinks it ought to be, is the breeding ground for revolt.

But where is the student movement headed? The YS/LJS delegates were unanimous. There is developing on the campus the beginnings of a struggle for Student Power. But what is "Student Power"? It

means simply that members of the university community — students and staff — should control the community by democratic means. It rejects the idea that the present corporation-backed administrations can or will introduce the changes necessary to transform university life into a creative process.

This was seen most clearly in the recent Simon Fraser University struggle. Vancouver delegates at the convention, who had played key roles in the SFU student protest, emphasized how quickly the protest had taken up the demand that staff and students — and not the board of governors — should pick the university's top administrators. SFU students demand that the corporation hacks who constitute the board of governors should resign.

The YS/LJS convention reaffirmed its support of the Student Power movement.

The convention took careful note

of the fact that student militants are beginning to look beyond the campus as a result of their experiences. McGill students found that campus protest soon brought them up against the repressive forces of society at large - the police and the courts. The fight for the right to a free education brings students headlong into conflict with a hostile state. Thus the leading student militants are taking a new look at society around them. It is not accidental that students were among the first to fight against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Jacquie Henderson, an Executive Council member of the YS/LJS and new editor of Young Socialist Forum stressed: "As students begin to see that the problems of the university are rooted in a deeply sick society; as they begin to take up questions such as support for the struggles of the unions and support for the party of labor, the New Democratic Party; as students increasingly take up big world issues such as the fight to end the Vietnam war, socialist students will have their work cut out for them."

From one area after another delegates reported new interest in the ideas of socialism arising on the campus. They want an explanation of the causes for the profound disorders both in the university and in society around it.

To meet its increasing responsibilities to these students, the YS/LJS voted to step up the activities of its already existing campus clubs and to build new ones on campuses from coast to coast. These clubs will be in the center of the fight to end the war in Vietnam, in the midst of the battle for student power, and the most consistent exponents of the ideas of revolutionary socialism in Canadian universities.

## Che's Diary Subjeq Of Toronto Forum

"The Diary of Che Guevara ends with the rout of his guerrilla force which climaxed with his murder," Jean Rands told the Toronto Van-guard forum on July 26. "The event which we celebrate tonight, the rout of Fidel Castro's forces, was also a defeat. But it led to the victory of the Cuban revolution. So also will the struggle initiated so heroically by Che surely end in victory."

The forum was held to celebrate the 15th anniversary of Fidel Castro's attack on the Moncada Barracks, the beginning of the armed struggle in Cuba. Over 125 people came to see the Cuban film "Hasta la Victoria Siempre" (Ever Onward to Victory), and to participate in a discussion of the significance of Che Guevara's recently published diary.

The film relates Che's ideas, ex-pressed in his speeches in Cuba and at the UN, to the objective conditions in Latin America and particularly in Bolivia, and explains the struggle that Che was involved in when he was captured and murdered by the Bolivian dictatorship.

Jean Rands, member of the Central Executive Council of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes related the importance of the diary to the debate on revolutionary strategy in the colonial countries and to the education of radicalizing youth around the world.

"Because it records the daily lives of the guerrillas, readers of the diary gain a new insight into the conditions of life in the Bolivian countryside, and the struggle against those conditions."

The diary is also an important document of the colonial revolution as a whole. "It documents the role of the conservative Communist Party of Bolivia, which actually sabotaged the work of the guerrillas. This can only be understood within the context of the debate in the international socialist movement.

"The Bolivian CP opposes Che's internationalism, represented con-cretely by his participation, with several Cubans and some Peruvians, in the guerrilla in Bolivia. They do not see armed struggle as the main direction for the socialist movement in Bolivia, in spite of the regime's destruction of the trade unions, the peasant unions and all civil liberties. And they see the struggle for socialism postponed until after democracy and independence have been established, while Che and the Cuban leadership declare, in accordance with all the teachings of revolutionary socialism, that democraand independence from imperialis are impossible within the context capitalism."

A member of the audience ask whether the struggle in the colon world should take priority over the Stressing the decisive importance the struggle in North America, center of imperialism and its v drive, the speaker pointed out links with the colonial revolution

"Thousands of youth in Nor America and Europe are learning from Che's example. We identify from Che's example. We identi-with his internationalism; partic larly his intransigent defense of the Vietnamese revolution. We identified with his uncompromising batt against imperialism. More and mor we are understanding the relevant of his socialist ideas to the problem social change in advanced cap talist countries as well as in the colonial world."

### **fouring** in . Ontario

80 people, mainly student working in the nickel mines for the summer, attended a film show ing and speech in Sudbury sponsored by the four young socialists on the Vanguard Tour. It was the first public meeting held by this year's tour which is going across the country showing the Cuban film "Ever Onward To Victory" in major centers all the way from Toronto to Vancouver.

Ken Hiebert spoke on "Che Guevara and the Challenge Be-fore Us." Che, he said, was an inspiration to revolutionary young people from France, Germany the U.S., to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Young people fight ing for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe, and the students fighting the decadence of Western capitalism were inspired by the same spirit of revolutionary in-transigence and honesty for which Che has become the symbol.

Throughout Northern Ontario the tour has been selling sub-scriptions to Young Socialist Forum, the Vanguard, and La Lutte Ouvrière. The literature table at Laurentian University in Sudbury was particularly success

# Czechs Resisting Invasion

# Transit

TORONTO Aug. 20 — The im-ending strike by Toronto's 5,100 ablic transit workers is a classic xample of just how far an arrogant ement will go to deny the

orkers' most elementary rights.
Incredible as it may seem, the or-elected commissioners of the foronto Transit Commission are forcing a strike solely through their refusal to provide a medical plan ip to standard with the scheme enyed by other public employees in

Tentative agreement has been ached on all other issues — wages, working conditions, and other fringe centits — but the TTC bosses have ecided to tie up this city of two ecided to tie up this city of two uid a half million people by ob-timately rejecting union demands hat the present TTC-operated medi-al plan be scrapped. No wonder transit workers voted 90 percent the highest vote ever — for nike! Last year alone, there were 500 complaints over the handling

claims under the plan.

The union has bent over backards to avoid the admittedly ineards to avoid the admittedly in-convenient strike. It reluctantly ac-cepted a 15 percent-over-the-two-ears wage offer, although this is ess than half what it asked. And it his agreed to negotiate the contenious issue of working conditions, in-luding its demands for overtime bay, relief time on straight 8-hour s, and a reduction in split shifts. Management's arrogance is match-ed by the indifference of Metro icil which subsidizes the TTC appoints its commissioners. Rather than granting the just de-mands of the transit workers, Coun-cil has stood aside and allowed the sion to bludgeon them into

# Prepare THE WORKERS To Strike VANGUARD

## 'Just Society'-**But for Whom?**

The long summer of hard-fought The long summer of hard-fought strikes is showing just what Prime Minister Trudeau meant when he talked about his "just society." Strikers militancy in dozens of key areas, particularly in the public service sector, has shown how deeply rooted their demands are in years of mounting frustration with

of mounting frustration with low wages and rotten working conditions. But according to Trudeau, the postal workers, the grain handlers, 'the Air Canada pilots, are unfairly taking advantage of the "poor, un-protected, and unorganized part of the public" who, he tells us, pay through taxes for all the wage increases of the supposedly greedy public employees. The Trudeau government's technique for "protecting the poor" is to hold firm against granting any wage increases to pub-lic employees above its "guideline" of six percent a year, regardless of the justice of their claim.

We must agree that Trudeau and his rich, well protected and very well organized cronies have nothing to fear from increased taxes — they will fall, as always, on the "poor" and "unprotected.

But as Canadian Labor oCngress president Donald MacDonald point-ed out in an August 10 statement,

for his government's policy of wage guidelines — of "arbitrarily estab-lishing a ceiling above which it will not permit current wage increases to go, regardless of the merits of the to go, regardless of the ments of the case presented before it. We fail to see the justice," he continued, "in singling out wages and salaries for special treatment while at the same time leaving other items such as prices and profits untouched."

The government's real aim in its arrogant refusal to meet the de-mands of public employees is to slow down the overall struggle of Canadian labor. While cynically preaching that high wages cause price increases, it has succeeded, toprice increases, it has succeeded, to-gether with the monopolies, in hold-ing real wages (buying power) of manufacturing workers down to an increase of only \$2.37 a week over the past two years — a real rate of increase of wages of only one percent a year!

For several months now, the Financial Post tells us, the monopolies have succeeded in preventing any increase in the average payany increase in the average pay-ment to manufacturing workers per unit of their production. If labor costs are steady, who has been bene-fiting from price increases? The financial experts have been report-ing with satisfaction that they have gone directly to fatten corporations profits, which, unchallenged by any "guidelines," were rising last year in manufacturing at a rate of 181/2 percent a year.

Public Service Strikes

The Trudeau government never tires of telling us that we, the "pub-lic," are the ones who suffer from the inconvenience of public service



Hungary, 1956 . . .

Czechoslovakia, 1968?

by the Editors

Socialists, anti-war activists and all those who defend the right of nations to self-determination, must condemn in the strongest possible terms the brutal invasion of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic by troops of the USSR and its four East European allies.

The invasion is shameful proof of how much the ruling bureaucrats

of the Kremlin fear the specter of political revolution raised by the powerful democratization process in Czechoslovakia. Unable to tolerate this profound break with Stalinism, and the contagious effects it could have in the Soviet Union itself, the bureaucracy has replied in the only language it knows — the language of brute force. The twelve eventful years since the bloody suppression of the Hungarian people's attempt to establish rule by democrtic workers' councils, have in no way lessened the bureaucracy's readiness to drown in blood if necessary the Czechoslovak people's desires for socialist democracy

the Czechoslovak people's desires for socialist democracy.

There is no truth whatsoever, of course, in the Kremlin's claim that it was invited to intervene by the Czechoslovak Communist party or any representative body. There is still less truth in its charge that "anti-socialist forces" in that country were threatening to assume the initiative. Throughout their long campaign of slander, intimidation, threats and pressures against the anti-Stalinist movement in Czechoslovakia, Moscow and its allies have been utterly unable to point to even one serious instance of anti-Soviet activity there. The real "antisocialist force" is the Kremlin bureaucracy and its counter-revolutionary violation of the Czech people's right of self-determination.

The Western capitalist states have no interest in intervening on the The Western capitalist states have no interest in intervening on the side of socialist democratization. Capitalist politicians show no favor for a process that threatened, in their view, to prove that nationalized property is compatible with democratic rule. Significantly, External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp has expressed "disappointment" at the invasion — as a "setback . . . toward an East-West détente" — but offered no concern for the fate of the Czechoslovak people. Supporters of aggression in Vietnam are unable to challenge the USSR's right to do what it wants in what they accept as its own sphere of right to do what it wants in what they accept as its own sphere of influence in east Europe.

Nor have the Czechoslovak people any reason to invite Western

intervention. Quite the contrary — no serious pro-capitalist tendency has appeared amidst the ferment of democratization.

Only hours after the first announcement of the Soviet invasion, the capitalist press was already writing off the Czech reform program, and relegating that country to the Stalinist orbit. But the response of the Czechoslovakians to this violation of their deepest aspirations has not yet been heard. As we go to press, the radio reports that machine gun fire has opened up in Prague, that the people "are prepared to stop

### Lewis Assails Restraint' on Biafra

"I style myself a socialist, but to have that label with the British labor Party is a considerable humili-tion," Stephen Lewis, NDP member of the Ontario legislature, said in a statement prepared for a meeting raties this month.

I wis' attack on the government of Lewis attack on the government of Harold Wilson was prompted by its apport for the genocidal war being waged by the Nigerian federal government against the struggle of the lbo people for independence. The British government has kept a steady supply of arms' flow to feed the fratricide," he protested. "If twentieth century British humanism has tome to mean appeasement in as come to mean appeasement in Vetnam, acquiescence in Rhodesia, complicity in South Africa, and indifference in Biafra - I want no art of it. And it won't break my



### CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

Lewis also criticized the NDP's "relative silence" on this issue. The federal caucus recently issued a short statement expressing the need for immediate action over Biafra by

"Of its kind it was fine: some thing which conveyed strong feelings without being overly critical of the Establishment. But personally I find diplomatic restraint insufferable on such occasions."

In a subsequent interview with the Globe and Mail, Lewis, who is the son of federal House Leader David Lewis, had more to say on the rightward trend of the NDP. "There are too many parties clouding up the Center. The place in the politi-

cal spectrum for us is to take a radical posture on issues." According to the Globe, Lewis thinks "the militant wing of these parties (like the NDP and Labor party) must take control or the

party) must take control or the movement is in danger of losing its conscience and thereby its reason for existing. The times call for the NDP to take a militant position..." Lewis' declarations are indicative of a growing feeling among NDP activists that the party must move to the left if it is to present a real atternative to the old-line parties.

alternative to the old-line parties.

Delegates to the Saskatchewan NDP convention in July beat back (See page 2)

Hands Off Czechoslovakia! Defend Socialist Democracy in the Workers States! Withdraw Soviet and Allied Troops!

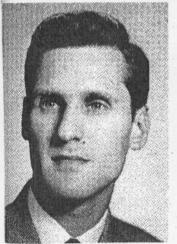


SUPPORT WORKERS DEMOCRACY. John Steele of the League for Socialist Action addresses rally at Vancouver Court House in solidarity with Czechoslovakian struggle for socialist democracy.

## Lewis Assails NDP 'Restraint' on Biafra

"I style myself a socialist, but to share that label with the British Labor Party is a considerable humiliation," Stephen Lewis, NDP member of the Ontario legislature, said in a statement prepared for a meeting earlier this month.

Lewis' attack on the government of Harold Wilson was prompted by its support for the genocidal war being waged by the Nigerian federal government against the struggle of the Ibo people for independence. The British government has kept a steady supply of arms' flow to feed the fratricide," he protested. "If twentieth century British humanism has come to mean appeasement in Vietnam, acquiescence in Rhodesia, complicity in South Africa, and indifference in Biafra - I want no part of it. And it won't break my heart when Harold Wilson loses the



Stephen Lewis

# CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

next election."

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Delegates to the Saskatchewan NDP convention in July beat back (See page 2)

## ... Quebec NDP

(Continued from page 1)

attempts to escalate membership fees to \$5.00 (\$9 with Commonwealth subscription, and \$12 for a family), from the previous \$2.50. A compromise of \$5-\$8-\$10 proposed by provincial treasurer J. H. Brockelbank was also defeated overwhelmingly. Finally an amendment to make the fees \$2.50-\$6-\$8 was accepted. Clearly the members of the NDP's biggest and most successful provincial section want no part of any measures tending to restrict the mass, low-income base of the party in favor of a rich but apathetic machine.

The Commonwealth reports that federal secretary Cliff Scotton told the Saskatchewan NDP convention that "NDP supporters in Quebec are probably going to organize a provincial party." The behavior of the NDP vote in Quebec - it dropped 25 percent - would suggest that the federal party has every interest in stepping up pressure on the provincial leadership under Robert Cliche to cease its equivocating and enter the provincial arena. Writing in the current issue of La Lutte Ouvrière, L. Paquette comments on the election results in Ouebec:

"(The drop in the NDP vote) flows from the fact that the NDP exists uniquely as a federal party, acting only during federal elections. In Saskatchewan, by way of contrast, the party is rooted at all levels, and thus benefited from the popular distaste of Ross Thatcher's Liberal regime. It made a spectacular comeback. A party which does not challenge the provincial government can

# CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

hardly-claim to be the spokesman of the Quebec workers in their struggle against the bosses. In the same way, the NDP must go into action on the municipal level. It must deepen its roots by committing itself with the participation of the trade unions, on both the provincial and municipal planes."

### Struggle for Survival

# French-only Schools

The following editorial appears in the July-August issue-of La Lutte Ouvrière, a bi-monthly magazine published in Montreal which reflects the views of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

The French-speaking parents of St-Léonard, reacting against the growing anglicization of their municipality, have founded the Mouvement pour l'Intégration Scolaire (MIS—Movement for School Integration) to set up a system of unilingual French-language schools. This movement won the school commission elections and the referendum on this question. The commission then adopted a proposal to begin this system in September.

This provoked a general hue and cry. The Union Nationale government, which claims to speak for French Canadians, declared that "you can't upset everything by way of a referendum," that it was necessary to protect the vested interests of the English. The Liberals presured the government to intervene forthwith to protect these rights. On the other side, many nationalist organizations rallied to the cause of the MIS.

The main issue which has aroused the inhabitants of St-Léonard is the increasing anglicization of Quebec. If not only the new Canadians, but also more and more French Canadians are integrating into the English-speaking minority, it is because English is the dominant language, necessary for advancement. Montreal, the metropolis of French Canada, appears above all as an English-speaking city.

This situation only reflects the social reality of Quebec. It shows the arrogance of the big Anglo-American monopolies and the lack of respect they have for a foreign nation; what counts for them is to withdraw as much profit as possible, and to exploit the nation in the native language only increases the overhead costs.

If this anglicization process continues, French Canadians will be put in a minority in the metropolitan area within a few years. If we lose Montreal, it can be said that we lose the whole of Quebec, for Montreal is the heart of Quebec and the French Canadian nation. It is even certain that after Montreal, the whole of Quebec will become in the majority English. With a "free choice" between the two languages, people are quite naturally going to learn the language which dominates economically — English.

The only means of assuring the survival of the French Canadian nation and its culture is to liberate Quebec from this foreign domination, to liberate it from imperialism. In a Quebec which really belongs to the Québécois, that is, a Quebec controlled by the workers and farmers, French would naturally assume a dominant position in daily life. In the factories, for example, French would become the language of work, because the workers themselves would decide working conditions.

Unilingualism in the schools is a means of countering this tendency toward anglicization. It is a partial measure, which can slow down this tendency, particularly if it leads toward a struggle to establish unilingualism throughout the province. In addition, we demand a single, non-clerical and State-controlled, school system which provides students with an adequate wage.

Those who oppose unilingualism

in the schools often cite the parents' freedom of choice and the "vested rights" of the English population in Quebec. But it must be understood that French Canada is in a struggle for its very survival, and the rights of this nation must take priority over the rights of the minorities. This is not a racist policy, but a measure necessary for the survival of French Canada. We want the support of English Canadian workers in our struggle, a struggle which aids them in their own battle against the bosses. It is in their best interests to support our struggle, and among them, the most advanced elements are beginning to understand this.

The policy of the Mouvement Souveraineté - Association wants to preserve such English privileges as unilingual English schools, shows its complete misreading of the drama of the French Canadian nation. The MSA policy in no way prevents this slide toward anglicization; it is a policy which seeks to save the status quo while wanting to obtain some crumbs of autonomy from our master, Anglo-American capital, a policy of doing nothing which might incur the latter's displeasure. It shows that to obtain "sovereignty," — power — the MSA is ready to concede anything, including our language!

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## **Tour Reaches Prairies**

AUGUST 14 — The 1968 Vanguard Trailblazers' tour, which is on its way from Toronto to the west coast selling socialist literature and subscriptions to the Workers Vanguard and Young Socialist Forum, is meeting with a mixed reaction — depending on whether it's the local civic authorities and cops, or the local NDPers and other radicals who encounter the four youthful members of the tour.

Following the very successful public meeting in Sudbury (see report last issue), the tour went on to Sault Ste. Marie. But it didn't stay long. Just after distributing the Vanguard to the workers at the giant Algoma Steel plant, the four young socialists were run out of town by the local cops, who claimed they had no right to sell their literature to the good citizens of that city. They report: "The authorities were so worried about our possible influence, that after an hour and a half's interrogation and harangue from the municipal cops, who threatened to arrest us, the Ontario Provincial Police followed us by car for no less than two hours after we left fown!"

But the reception from the students at Lakehead University in Port Arthur was altogether different. "The young people in this growing radical community grabbed up our literature to the tune of \$75," the tour reports. "And 75 people attended the meeting, where we showed the Cuban film about Che Guevara, 'Ever Onward to Victory.' There was a very good response to Wendy Stevenson's speech. Here as elsewhere, we found a tremendous interest and enthusiasm about the ideas and example of Che Guevara."

After a brief stopover in Kenora, where they met, among others, Pete Kelly of the drug addiction center for Indians, the four young people arrived in Winnipeg.

"Here, about 25 people, including some young people the Communist party is trying to organize, met with us at the home of CP secretary Don Currie. Currie admitted to us that

even here, the only city where the Communist party still manages to elect a couple of members to the city government under its part label, the CP has no organized youth movement. Currie, of course holds no brief for our views. He claimed the Young Socialists' suo cess in organizing young people 'temporary, because it is built of anti-Communism.' What he probable meant was that anyone attracted by the film on Che, for example, hardly likely to be inspired by the CP's hostility to the revolutionar movement in Latin America."

At last report, the Vanguard towhad just held a successful meeting on one campus in Winnipeg, when 33 people heard an explanation of the basic ideas of socialism. Another meeting, at the University of Mantoba where exams are in progress was scheduled for the 15th. The almosphere at the U of M is verifavorable for the formation of a student socialist group. the young socialists report.

## WORKERS **ANGUARD**

Vol. 13, No. 1 (157)

September 9, 1968

Toronto — 10 Cents

## Que. Group Aids Jailed Students

MONTREAL — The formation of a Quebec committee to aid the defense of the French student leaders indicted by the de Gaulle regime was announced here Aug. 25 at an enthusiastic meeting in the Moose Hall.

Main speaker at the meeting was Jean-Pierre Dubé, a leader of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR - Revolutionary Communist Youth), one of the 11 leftwing organizations banned by the French government last June as part of its general repression against the radicals who sparked and sustained the massive general strike this spring. Dubé, who has just completed a three week tour of the United States and Canada, was loudly applauded by the audience of close to 200, who donated over \$100 to the defense fund.

Among the sponsors of the meeting were Roland Morin, president of the Quebec New Democratic Party and director of publicity for the United Auto Workers; Jacques Larue-Langlois, head, of the Committee to Aid the Vallières-Gagnon Group; Richard Lacroix, a wellknown artist; Prof. Marcel Rioux of the University of Montreal; and Paul Kirby, editor of Logos, an underground newspaper. Chairman of the meeting was Michel Mill of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

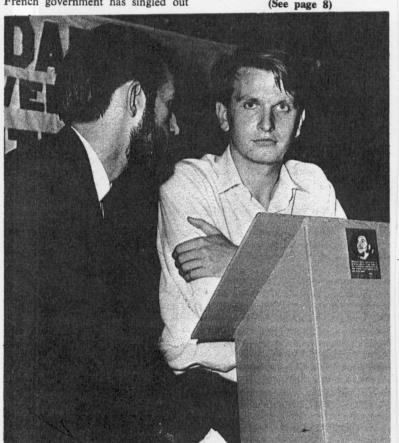
A further meeting to formally launch the defense committee will be held next week.

In response to a request from leaders of the 70,000-member Union Générale des Etudiants du Ouébec (UGEQ), the Quebec student union, Dubé extended his stay here and attended UGEQ's Semaine Syndicale where he spoke to one hundred people on the situation in France. Dubé was widely interviewed in the press. radio, and T.V.

Meanwhile, JCR leader Alain Krivine and eight other French political prisoners have been granted "provisional liberty" (released on their own recognizance) by the French state security court. The French government has singled out former members of the JCR for special attack in its attempt to intimidate the left and prevent a resurgence of the struggle this fall.

Despite the release of the nine, the witch-hunt in France is continuing. On Aug. 10, Raymond Marcellin, the minister of the interior, made

(See page 8)



FRENCH YOUTH LEADER. Jean-Pierre Dubé, right, confers with Michel Mill at Montreal meeting.

### Que. Group

(Continued from page 1) a demagogic speech violently nouncing the "subversive groups"

and the "danger" they constitute to the Republic. The French pres treated this speech as a major policy statement by the government.

The Canadian Committee to De fend the French Students is continuing to fight the repression. Its four central demands are:

- 1. Immediate release of all politi ical prisoners and the dismissal of all charges against them.
- 2. Immediate repeal of the bar on all the proscribed political of ganizations.
- 3. Reaffirmation by the French government of the right of free ac cess for all foreign journalists and all foreign students.
- 4. An immediate end to the brutal police repression of demonstrations and other attacks on the civil liberties of the French people.

Funds are urgently needed. Correspondence and contributions can be sent to: Canadian Committee to Defend the French Students, c/o University of Toronto International Student Center, 33 St. George St. Toronto 5.

The address of the Ouebec committee is: Comité Contre la Répression en France, C.P. 494, Snow don, Montreal.

## Socialists Begin Tour Of Prairie Campuses

AUGUST 28 - The Vanguard Trailblazers' Tour is now in Edmonton, after an eventful trip across the prairies selling socialist literature and subscriptions to the Vanguard and Young Socialist Forum.

"Just after we filed our report for the last issue," they write, "we met an NDP activist at our literature table at the University of Winnipes (formerly United College). He was a candidate for the party in the June federal election. He invited the Tour to speak to his summer class of Grade 12 history students on the difference between Stalinism and Trotskyism. The students expressed considerable interest in Ken Hiebert's talk, and four of them came later to a campus meeting where we showed the Cuban film on Che Guevara, Ever Onward to Victory.

"At the University of Manitoba, we also set up a literature table. Although end-of-term exams were in progress, 45 students turned out to participate in a discussion of the world student revolt and its meaning for Canadian students and socialists."

The next leg of the tour started inauspiciously when the truck, which had been misbehaving all the way, finally broke down completely 90 miles east-of Regina. Undaunted by this setback, the four young socialists had themselves towed into Regina, where they set about contacting NDPers and other anti-war activists to propagandize their views.

Highlight of the Regina stopover was an evening meeting which centered around the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia. The meeting got

wide publicity, as members of the Tour were able to participate beforehand in radio phone-in shows, including an hour-long hearing on the popular Frank Flegel show on

The meeting itself attracted close to 100 people, and received prominent coverage in the next day's Leader-Post. Arnie Mintz, an editor of Young Socialist Forum, was the main speaker. Following his talk, several persons in the audience of NDPers and high school and university students expressed their support of the movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia.

A petition being circulated at the University, of Saskatchewan Regina campus was passed around, and most of the audience signed it: The petition called on all those who have protested American aggression in Vietnam" and demonstrated solidarity with revolutionary Cuba, to demand that the USSR "withdraw its troops immediately from Czechoslovakia."

A generous contribution from the audience, together with money from literature sales and subscriptions, helped finance the Tour's westward journey to Edmonton, where they will buy a new vehicle. The transportation difficulties, they report, have forced them reluctantly to cancel the projected B.C. leg of the tour. Thus the next phase will see them begin to work their way back east, visiting Calgary and Saskatoon on the way. A main feature of the return trip will be meetings on the numerous campuses as the fall sessions get underway.

## LJS Launches New Journal

The revolutionary socialists in Quebec have recently taken two big steps forward. In our last issue, an advertisement for La Lutte Ouvrière, a bi-monthly journal which reflects the views of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, announced that it is now appearing in a new printed format. Besides improving the appearance of the magazine, which until now was laboriously mimeographed and put together by voluntary labor, the new process has considerably increased the quantity of material appearing in each issue.

The other big advance - even more important, for it augers well for the growth of a revolutionary socialist youth movement in French Canada — is the publication of a new youth paper, Jeune Garde (Young Guard), the bulletin of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. The first issue of Jeune Garde features an analysis by three student comrades of the LJS of the program and action of the Union Générale des Etudiants du Ouébec (UGEO), the militant mass student organization in Ouebec. The article contrasts the UGEO leadership's political support for revolutionary and working class causes internationally and in Quebec, with its reformist approach to the concrete struggle for immediate student demands, such as free tuition and representation on governing bodies of the university. The result, the young authors state, is that "there is an enormous gap between the political consciousness of the UGEQ cadres and that of the mass of students; and the actions of UGEQ this year have rarely had the effect of filling this gap."

What is needed, they say, is not "on the one hand, a 'minimum program' of insignificant reforms, corresponding to the present level of student consciousness, and on the other hand, a 'maximum program' of revolutionary slogans to be shouted on certain occasions" - a view which sees reform and revolution as "completely irreconcilable" fields of action - but rather a program of transitional demands and a strategy of action capable of transforming UGEO into a mass radical youth organization. ought not to say simply that each student ought to have a salary, but to convince the student population that this is the only democratic form of financial demands for students. Otherwise we will again end up talking about 'free education' on paper and saying (in action) 'We want our bursaries ...'"

The statement of position in this first issue of Jeune Garde is particularly significant because, unlike the other nationalist and socialist youth publications which appear and reappear from time to time in Ouebec, the Jeunes Socialistes firmly identify with the world struggle against imperialism. "As socialists." they state, "we are internationalists. We believe that the lessons of the world-wide struggle against exploitation reveals to us the perspective for the victory of the national struggle of the Ouebec people. These lessons show that only the exploited classes - the workers and farmers - are capable of leading a national struggle to a real national and social independence."

Socialists in English Canada greet the appearance of Jeune Garde and the improved format of La Lutte Ouvrière.

For subscriptions and further information, write Jeune Garde, 17 ouest, rue Ontario, Montréal 18, Québec.

When the Teamsters union bargaining committee for Ontario's 10,000 truck drivers entered negotiations three months ago, the slogan was "parity now" with wages in the U.S. trucking industry.

On Aug. 25, six weeks before the old contract expired, the same committee came back to the membership recommending acceptance of an offer that fell far short of parity. The total raise is considerable—\$1.10 over three years,— but almost half the increase is in the last year. In the Windsor-based local 880, where the executive recommended against acceptance, the membership rejected it overwhelmingly. Elsewhere, where the executives urged concurrence the yes vote won out, although close to 30 percent voted against the bosses' offer.

#### THE LABOR SCENE

The sizeable opposition shows that the militant tradition of the Teamster rank-and-file could easily have been mobilized to win parity now. The ranks were certainly prepared to fight. Only two years ago, a three and-a-half month strike resulted in a significant victory, including a reduction in the work week from 48 hours to 40 hours.

This year, the membership of

This year, the membership of local 938, which contains over half the Ontario membership, had elected as negotiators a slate of three rank and file militants, two of whom had been the victims only last fall of a vicious red-baiting orgy instigated by the local leadership. This was the first major contract since the members of local 938 booted out of office Ken McDougall, a long-time dictator and source of constant turmoil.

The bosses were well aware that the new leaders of 938 were not in complete control of the membership. The only ones who apparently were not aware of the power in their hands were the majority of members on the bargaining committee. They never tried to conduct a cam-paign among the ranks to mobilize them behind the union's demands. They never utilized the new Shop Stewards' councils or published a newspaper or bulletin to inform the scattered membership as to the progress of negotiations. They removed-themselves from any "pressures" by conducting the sessions at out-oftown holiday resorts. Finally, they rushed back to their respective memberships ready to recommend acceptance of the first serious offer presented to them.

## Van. NDP Split on City Politics

by Phil Courneyeur

VANCOUVER - A third "nonpartisan" political party has been floated in Vancouver to contest the forthcoming municipal elections. The Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE), formed with the backing of the Metropolitan Advisory Committee of the Vancouver Labor Council, was set up on August 28. Supporters of the COPE, mainly ratepayers organizations and the Harry Rankin Election Committee, have been vocal opponents of the NDP entering civic politics.

The decision to launch COPE with labor council backing was taken in spite of an earlier decision by the Vancouver NDP Civic Committee to enter a slate.

The NDP's decision was made by

#### **CONTACT US**

to know what socialists are doing in your area

MONTREAL. Lique Socialiste Ouvrière, 17 Ontario St. W., Montreal 18, Que. 849-1727.

OTTAWA. League for Socialist Action, 238 Arlington, Ottawa, Ont.

TORONTO. League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto, Ont. 922-6565.

EDMONTON. League for Socialist Action, 10936 - 87 Ave., Edmonton, Alta. 433-8791.

VANCOUVER. League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville St., Vancouver 2, B. C. 688-5924.

a convention of Vancouver members last April. The top leadership of the NDP, including most of the MLA caucus, opposed the decision then, and continued attempts have been made to dissuade Vancouver NDPers from launching their slate. At the latest NDP provincial council meeting, Cliff Greer, the chairman of the Vancouver NDP Civic Committee, rejected moves to scuttle plans for a party slate. Later, Greer announced that there will be an NDP slate, and all that remains is to present a list of nominees and a proposed program for approval of the B.C. NDP executive. Greer's statement was immediately contradicted by a press statement from John Laxton, NDP provincial president. He insisted that the Vancouver area decision to go civic still has to be approved by the provincial executive.

The differences in the NDP over civic politics will come to a head at a city membership convention on September 14. Elements within the NDP leadership are backing TEAM (The Electors' Action Movement), a new civic front for big business and real estate interests associated with the Liberal party. TEAM has cultivated support from labor and NDP ranks in order to disguise itself with a "reform" image. The mask for this disguise has been found in the person of Mayor Alan Emmott of Burnaby, until recently a leader in the CCF and NDP. Emmott will seek the Vancouver mayoralty on the TEAM ticket. His

decision to lead the TEAM slate was applauded by this city's two daily papers, as well as private radio stations - and NDP president Laxton.

The other bulwark of opposition to an NDP slate is the Harry Rankin Election Committee. Alderman Rankin, the architect of the new COPE party, is an articulate supporter of coalition and "liberallabor" politics. Rankin has consistently opposed entry of the NDP into civic politics on the ground that the party is too "narrow." He has worked for a "coalition of people's organizations seeking genuine reform at city hall" and claims that an NDP slate "would disenfranchise a whole group of people." The Communist party, which still has some influence in the labor bureaucracy here, holds similar views.

The working people of Vancouver don't need coalition slates at the civic level. Labor has a political party, the New Democratic Party, based on the trade union movement.

According to its chairman, COPE will run a slate "even if the NDP does." This is a backward step for labor in Vancouver. The Vancouver Labor Council has the responsibility to encourage the NDP to enter a slate, to participate in the formation of that slate, and thereby give the working people of Vancouver the same fighting chance against big business rule in the city that the NDP provides at the provincial and federal levels.

## NGUARD

September 23, 1968

Toronto - 10 Cent

#### INSIDE: QUEBEC and The National Question

GI Dissent Growing

## **Anti-War Rally** Set for Oct. 26

TORONTO RONTO — "Anti-Vietnam war ent among GIs is so great that w, for the first time, the Ameri-n anti-war movement has a genthe war," a former U.S. Army pri-rate told an audience here on Sept.

Former Pfc. Howard Petrick gave the keynote address at a conference of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. Over 120 people from 30 organizations attended the assembly, which laid plans for the coming October 26 International Day of potest against the war.

"The student-based anti-war move ment can't end the war by itself; it must reach out to involve the thousmust reach out to involve the thousunds of soldiers who are opposed
a the war and who can put a stop
a it," said Petrick, who was "unfleirably" discharged from the U.S.
Army last March for his anti-war
rews. He is now on the national
saff of the Student Mobilization
Committee.

The American anti-war movement as increasingly oriented towards the oung men who, like Petrick, get infted into the Army to help fight war they do not want. Now these forts are bearing fruit. Petrick pre-cted that an unprecedented num-



Howard Petrick

of GIs on active duty would parpate in the anti-war activities at end of October.

Petrick described ang draftees come to rebel against barrage of crude propaganda by are subjected to by the Army ofials. The Gls are shown racist raining films," designed to estab-th the fiendish nature of the Vietis the flendish nature of the Vict-mese guerrillas; they are given cures on topics like "Know Your zemy, the Viet Cong." But, Pet-ke pointed out, "as soon as the my start to ask searching questions, c classes are cancelled." Evidently as Army wants to take no chances the beginning the properties of the pro-tish beginning to criti-

the Army wants to take no chances the having its policies open to critical evaluation by the soldiers. He related an anecdote about a haplain who was telling the new aductees about the "chain of command" structure in the Army. Startmy with the privates, the chaplain ared the chain of command all the ay up to LBJ, and from there— here else but to the good Lord muself. When the questions started beig — "Does that mean it's a sin a refuse to go to Vietnam?", "Can obey an order if I don't believe lod?" — the talk was drawn to abrupt close.

to be guest speakers at public meet ings and rallies, as well as leafleting bases and selling literature to the troops. When Petrick did this on his own base, he reported, one anti-war pamplet or newspaper would be read by 15 or 20 men. GI papers against the war are springing up all over the country, he said. Task Force, in the San Francisco-Berkeley area, cirthe San Francisco-Berkeley area, cir-culated 8,000 copies in one week. Other papers, with names like Strike Back, Fatigue Press, Pawn's Pawn and Fun, Travel and Adventure are very popular with Gls. Army regulations restrict the Gls'

Army regulations restrict the Gis constitutional rights to freedom of speech and assembly. Nevertheless, said Petrick, the Army is reluctant to court-martial a GI on a constitu-tional issue (such as the right to receive anti-war literature in the mail), ceive anti-war literature in the mail), so they put a GI into a situation where they can prosecute him on some violation of regulations. As an example, he cited the case of Pvt. Andy Stapp, who stood on his constitutional rights by refusing an order to open his footlocker, in which he had anti-war literature. The Army smashed open his locker, confiscated his literature, and then court-mar-tialed Stapp for having a broken footlocker!

But the dissent within the Army is not limited just to individual acts of defiance. The recent stockade re-volts at Danang and Long Binh in (See page 8)



OCCUPY SCHOOL. Students lean out of windows of barricaded Aimé Renaud school to watch der strators picketing in support of their occupation of the building.

## St-Leonard: Victory for French-only Schoools

by Richard Dumoni

MONTREAL - On Aug. 30, close to a hundred French Canadian stu-dents invaded the Aimé Renaud high school in suburban St-Léonard, oc-cupied it and barricaded the doors with chairs and desks. Six days later, they emerged victorious. Aimé Re-naud, slated for conversion to an English school, would remain

QFL's General Strike Aimed at Quebec Gov't

by Arthur Young

MONTREAL - One of the largest and most far-reaching work stop-pages in Quebec labor history oc-cured here Sept 6. More than \$400 million worth of building projects came to a halt during the one-day general strike in the construction industry called by the Quebec Feder-ation of Labor. Some 35,000 work-ers did not report to work in the Montreal area alone

Despite a torrential downpour, al-lost 5,000 construction workers larched several miles through most 3,000 construction workers marched several miles through Montreal to a mass rally in Dominion Square. The police, who have often brutally intervened against peaceful demonstrations, were hardly to be seen.

The construction general strike was a political strike. The walkout was called by the QFL to underline its protest against recent actions of the Quebec Labor Relations Board. The OFL points out that this body, manned by judges who have formerly been lawyers acting for the corporations which the unions are now trying to organize, is blatantly biased against the unions. The OFL points to the delays with which the board consistently answers demands to recognize unions, and the many legal fine points it manages to in-The QFL points out that this body, legal fine points it manages to in

nt to impede unionization.

However, to correct the abuses However, to correct the abuses of this government body, the QFL leaders simply demand that the government launch an inquiry into the actions of its own labor board! The QFL's anger was sparked in large part by the labor board's de-

cision to allow certain workers at the Baie-Comeau construction site to vote on which union group they wanted to represent them. The work-ers voted overwhelmingly for the rival Confederation of National Trade Unions. In launching its at-tack against the board over this is-me the OEL did little to win supsue, the QFL did little to win support from most of the better unionists in Quebec, QFL or CNTU, who see nothing wrong with the concept that workers should be free

to choose the union they desire.

The CNTU refused to support thegeneral construction strike, despite
the fact that it has everything to gain in siding with the QFL against the government. The CNTU bur-eaucrats are even threatening to remove a director of their Confederal Bureau, Michel Chartrand, for hav ing demonstratively supported the strike. But some CNTU construction workers joined the march, together with striking CNTU-Quebec Liquor supported the

Board workers.

As the date of the strike drew closer, however, the QFL heads spoke less and less about the QFL-CNTU conflict, underlining instead their attack on the government body. At the rally, QFL president Louis Laberge denied that the action was aimed at the CNTU. He claimed the QFL intends to solicit the sup-port of all other labor bodies in this struggle. If this was done, the path would be cleared for a major ad-vance for the Quebec labor move-

In a leaflet which was well re-ceived by the thousands of marchers, (See page 2)

triumphal end to the first phase of what has become the most profound nationalist issue in Ouebec since the second world war — the struggle for a unilingal French school system.

Ten years ago, St-Léonard de Port Maurice was a quiet town of 4,000, all French Canadians, bordering Montreal. Today it is a mushroom Montreal. Today it is a mushroom-ing suburb of 35,000, close to half of them immigrants, mostly Italian. Ninety percent of Montreal's post-war immigrants do not speak French or if they do — like the trilingual Italians in St-Léonard — do not wish to be educated in French. Eng-lish, they point out, is the language of business in Quebec. It may be nice to speak French to one's neighbors, but an educated command of English is absolutely necessary if one is to "get ahead" in this capitalEnter the Canadian constitution, it divides the school system not by language, but by religion, on the assumption that the French are Catholic, and Catholics in Quebec are French. The result: thousands of Italian parents demanding "bilingual" Catholic schools in St-Léonard and the construction of new, English, school facilities. More inspectated, a growing movement for new, English, school facilities, More important, a growing movement for French-only schools among the French Canadian population, worried by a falling birth rate — down 23 percent in the last four years and heavy immigration that threatens to turn Montreal into an English city in 10 to 15 years. (The absence of non-clerical French schools is estimated by NDP leader Robert Cliche to have cost Quebec at least 40,000 French immigrants.)

These conflicting interests came to

### 300 Join Gagnon's Hunger Strike in Jail

Charles Gagnon and his co-defendant Pierre Val-lières, leaders of the neo-FLQ (Front de Libération Québécois), began a hunger strike at Bordeaux Prison Sept. 3 to protest the con-tinued delays in Gagnon's case. According to a report in the Sept. 11 Le Devoir, some 300 other Bordeaux prisoners have joined their hunger prisoners have joined their nunger strike to demonstrate solidarity with the two political prisoners, and to back up their own grievances against the food and canteen rights, etc. Gagnon has been accused of com-

Gagnon has been accused of complicity in the bomb death of an employee of the strike-bound La
Grenade shoe factory in 1966. A
hearing has not yet been set although Gagnon was arrested with
Valilières two years ago in New
York, and has been awaiting trial in
Bordeaux since January 1967. The
Crown intends to proceed first Crown intends to proceed first on a minor associated charge of conspiracy to commit theft al-though if Gagnon were acquitted on the murder charge, he could be freed immediately on bail. Vaillières, who was convicted of non-capital

murder and sentenced to life im-prisonment last April, is still-await-

prisonment last April, is still-awaiting his appeal.

Gagnon states in a press release that his hunger strike is intended also to protest "all the irregularities which for five years have accompanied the disposal of the legal affairs involving FLQ supporters, from police brutalily to legal pressures and maneuvers, and particularly the fate which my comrades Vallières, Demers, Lévesque and others, have suffered for two years." Ten other members of the neo-FLQ were sentenced in the Fall of 1966.

The international Ligue des Droits de l'Homme has announced that if

de l'Homme has announced that it is sending two observers to Quebec to attend Gagnon's trial and investito attend Gagnon's trial and investi-gate on the spot the treatment and conditions of French Canada's po-litical prisoners. The delegation is the same one which attended the trial of Régis Debray in Bolivia.

Contributions to the defense of Vallières and Gagnon may be sent to the Comité d'Aide au Groupe Vallières-Gagnon, 622 ave. Outremont, Montréal 8, Québec.

# VANGUARD

#158 Sept. 1968

# St-Leonard: Victory for French-only Schoools

by Richard Dument

MONTREAL — On Aug. 30, close to a hundred French Canadian students invaded the Aimé Renaud high school in suburban St-Léonard, occupied it and barricaded the doors with chairs and desks. Six days later, they emerged victorious. Aimé Renaud, slated for conversion to an English school, would remain

Erench. A street festival marked the triumphal end to the first phase of what has become the most profound nationalist issue in Quebec since the second world war — the struggle for a unilingal French school system.

Ten vears ago, St-Léonard de Port Maurice was a quiet town of 4,000, all French Canadians, bordering Montreal. Today it is a mushrooming suburb of 35,000, close to half of them immigrants, mostly Italian. Ninety percent of Montreal's postwar immigrants do not speak French or if they do - like the trilingual Italians in St-Léonard - do not wish to be educated in French. English, they point out, is the language of business in Quebec. It may be nice to speak French to one's neighbors, but an educated command of English is absolutely necessary if one is to "get ahead" in this capitalist new world.

Enter the Canadian constitution. it divides the school system not by language, but by religion, on the assumption that the French are Catholic, and Catholics in Quebec are French. The result: thousands of Italian parents demanding "bilingual" Catholic schools in St-Léonard and the construction of new, English, school facilities. More important, a growing movement for French-only schools among the French Canadian population, worried by a falling birth rate - down 23 percent in the last four years and heavy immigration that threatens to turn Montreal into an English city in 10 to 15 years. (The absence of non-clerical French schools is estimated by NDP leader Robert Cliche to have cost Quebec at least 40,000 French immigrants.)

These conflicting interests came to

(See page 6)

## Students Win Victory for Unilingualism

(Continued from page 1)

a head in St-Léonard. This summer, following the victory in the June local elections of the pro-French Mouvement pour l'Intégration Scolaire (MIS — Integrated Schools Movement) and a plebescite favoring French-only schools, the new school board moved to phase out English classes, beginning with Grade 1 and increasing all-French instruction by one grade a year until the entire school system is unilingual.

The decision was overruled by Le Royer school commission which has jurisdiction over five east end school districts, including St-Léonard. Le Royer authorities ruled instead that Aimé Renaud high school, a new school attended by 800 French students last year, would be set aside as an exclusively English school.

All protests from the French students who were to be dispersed among other schools were ignored. So just a few days before the beginning of the new term, the occupation of Aimé Renaud began. The students who barricaded themselves to handle food, publicity, clean-up, etc. Outside the school, hundreds and then thousands of people, including their parents, began to demonstrate

their solidarity in round the clock picket lines. Messages of support and financial contributions to the MIS-led struggle came from all over the Conferedation of National Trade Unions (CNTU president Marcel Pepin symbolically joined the MIS); the Union Générale des Etudiants du Québec, the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN); the Le Royer Teachers' Association and the 11,000member Montreal Alliance des Professeurs. A petition circulated just outside the school got 3,500 signatures of support within 48 hours.

The depth of public support was indicated by the St-Léonard police chief's admission that neither his force nor the Quebec Provincial Police could find enough cops to carry out their plans to evict the children at 5 a.m. Labor Day!

Meanwhile, inside the school, the students mimeographed pamphlets, and gave interviews through walkietalkies, telephone and window-sill conversations, to make their case clear to the public.

On Sept. 4, the day that classes had been scheduled to begin, 628 of the 700 French students who had not occupied the school lined up outside at desks manned by mothers belonging to the MIS, and signed unofficial "registration" forms, to

claim their right to attend the school. The partisans of English schools were nowhere to be seen. They are now boycotting the St-Léonard schools.

#### Agreement

Early attempts at compromise by the Quebec government — such as education minister Jean-Guy Cardinal's suggestion that the school be made half-French, half-English! — were rejected by the student occupiers and the St-Léonard parents, who were allowed by the school commission to vote on all proposals. The final compromise agreement provided that Aimé Renaud would be French, but that two other schools in St-Léonard would be reserved for English instruction, for this year only.

The victory in St-Léonard was all the more impressive because none of the established political figures or parties, except the RIN, supported the struggle for unilingual schools.

In Ottawa, Prime Minister Trudeau, who is busy these days chasing French "secret agents" in Manitoba, expressed his support of a march on parliament hill sponsored by pro-English forces. Unfortunately NDP House leader David Lewis echoed Trudeau with the stupid statement that French-language unilingualism— a matter of survival for French-Canadians— was "wrong, short-sighted and fanatical."

#### Tears Up Card

In Quebec, the Union Nationale government, so eager to spread the French culture to former French colonies in Africa, refused to defend French-only schools in a Quebec community. (Sign in the demonstration at Aimé Renaud: "Cardinal en Afrique; St-Léonard en français.") The Liberals condemned the students sit-in. And when René Lévesque of the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association (MSA), attacked the school occupation in a face-toface confrontation with school board member Raymond Lemieux, founder of the MIS, the latter demonstratively tore up his MSA membership card. His action was copied by the rest of the MIS leadership in front of TV cameras. Many MSA sections in bordering Montreal communities areas facing the same languageschools problem as St-Léonard . issued statements condemning Lévesque's stand, and supporting the MIS.

#### Unilingualism

Although a popular issue in St-Léonard and similar communities, unilingualism is proving to be a divisive question in Quebec's inde-

pendentist movement. Lévesque's former lieutenant François Aquin recently left MSA ranks in disagreement with the MSA's official opposition to a French-only school system. The RIN-MSA unity talks broke off on precisely this question. The language question is explosive not just for its nationalist implications, but because it leads directly to the question posed by the immigrant parents in St-Léonard - foreign ownership and control of the Quebec economy. Unfortunately, what is lacking in disputes like that in St-Léonard is a mass labor party which could project a rounded program based on public ownership of Quebec industry - the only guarantee, that the French language would become the language of work and industry. A labor-socialist party would also take up the other demand raised by the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes in a leaflet prepared for distribution at the Aimé Renaud demonstration: deconfessionalization of the schools, an end to church control of education.

The struggle is only beginning. The MIS recruited 4-500 members a day at the height of the St-Léonard action, and set up branches elsewhere in Quebec. To paraphrase one commentator, the slogan now is: "Create 10, 20, 50 St-Léonards."



## VANGUARD #158-Sept. 1968

## 300 Join Gagnon's Hunger Strike in Jail

MONTREAL — Charles Gagnon and his co-defendant Pierre Vallières, leaders of the neo-FLO (Front de Libération Ouébécois). began a hunger strike at Bordeaux Prison Sept. 3 to protest the continued delays in Gagnon's case. According to a report in the Sept. 11 Le Devoir, some 300 other Bordeaux prisoners have joined their hunger strike to demonstrate solidarity with the two political prisoners, and to back up their own grievances against the food and canteen rights, etc.

Gagnon has been accused of complicity in the bomb death of an employee of the strike-bound La Grenade shoe factory in 1966. A hearing has not yet been set although Gagnon was arrested with Vallières two years ago in New York, and has been awaiting trial in Bordeaux since January 1967. The Crown intends to proceed first on a minor associated charge of conspiracy to commit theft although if Gagnon were acquitted on the murder charge, he could be freed immediately on bail. Vaillières, who was convicted of non-capital

murder and sentenced to life imprisonment last April, is still awaiting his appeal.

Gagnon states in a press release that his hunger strike is intended also to protest "all the irregularities which for five years have accompanied the disposal of the legal affairs involving FLQ supporters, from police brutality to legal pressures and maneuvers, and particularly the fate which my comrades Vallières. Demers, Lévesque and others, have suffered for two years." Ten other members of the neo-FLO were sentenced in the Fall of 1966.

The international Ligue des Droits de l'Homme has announced that it is sending two observers to Ouebec to attend Gagnon's trial and investigate on the spot the treatment and conditions of French Canada's political prisoners. The delegation is the same one which attended the trial of Régis Debray in Bolivia.

Contributions to the defense of Vallières and Gagnon may be sent to the Comité d'Aide au Groupe Vallières-Gagnon, 622 ave. Outremont, Montréal 8, Québec.

# Young Socialists Expand Activities

by Kate Porter

September! Canadian students are returning to school. And so are the members of the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. This year, on campuses from Vancouver to Halifax, membership clubs of the YS/LJS are being set up. Posters at YS literature tables read - "if you support Student Power, the anti-Vietnam war movement, a socialist Canada — then join the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes." Through these clubs, socialists on campus will be presenting the ideas of Che Guevara and the Cuban revolution, participating in student power struggles, and supporting actions against the war in Vietnam.

In the opening days of the new campus year, YS/LJS literature booths sold books and pamphlets by Che, Malcolm X, and other revolutionists. For many students it was the first time socialist literature was available to them, and the response was one of considerable interest.

Along with all this, a subscription drive for Young Socialist Forum, bimonthly magazine of the YS/LJS, is underway. The cross-country goal is 380 subscriptions, and they're already coming in from students meeting the YS/LJS for the first time on their campus.

To finance these projects, the Young Socialists are starting off the year with a fund drive. The goal is 7,000 dollars, the largest and most ambitious fund raising project in the history of the YS/LJS

Gary Porter, YS/LJS executive secretary, has outlined the importance of the drive.

"Over the past year," he says, "we have been expanding our activities, in keeping with the growing radicalization among students. We hold public meetings, conduct crosscountry tours for prominent socialist speakers, participate fully in the anti-Vietnam war movement, and publish Canada's only socialist youth

magazine, Young Socialist Forum. In addition, we have enlarged the magazine and placed the editor of full-time staff. Recently, too, the LJS has launched a bulletin, Jeung Garde, in French.

"This necessitates a great outlay of money — especially if we want to continue our expansion and make our educational campaign a success— which we do."

Since most students are poor to begin with, and this year's cutback in the student loans programs makes them even poorer, the YS/LJS is appealing particularly to those supporters of our work — young and old — who are in a better position to contribute substantially to the campaign. Contributions should be sent to: Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 32 Cecil St., Toronto 2B, Ont.

Freedom Now ..... The Black Ghettoby R. Vernon ..... The Black Panther Party Marxism and the Negro Struggle-a debate The Last Year of Malcolm X: The evolution of a revolutionary, by George Breitman ...... Malcolm X: the man and his idease, by George Breitman ..... The Autobiography of Malcolm X Malcolm X Speaks ...... 1 Two Speeches by Malcolm X Malcolm X Talks to the Young People .....

obtain through
VANGUARD BOOKS

### Trailblazers Report

SEPTEMBER 13 — Following is the latest news from the four young socialists who are travelling across the country on the Vanguard Trailblazers Tour selling socialist and anti-war literature:

Since our last report, we have spent a week in Calgary. Aside from an excursion to Banff, we worked steadily selling subscriptions to the Vanguard door-to-door and selling Young Socialist Forum on the streets.

While in Calgary we visited local NDP activists and discussed with them the prospects for building the NDP in Alberta. Like NDPers elsewhere, we found them dissatisfied with the kind of campaign the party conducted in the recent election. Some of them agreed with us that the campaign literature did little more than present the voters with a smiling picture of the candidate, and too little emphasis was placed on putting forward a program which could distinguish the NDP from the Liberals and Conservatives.

On our last evening in town we held a meeting in the Calgary Labor Temple. Attendance was about 30. A prominent member of the NDP who attended was particularly interested in the speaker's comparison of the NDP and the British Labor Party. He said he intended to raise hell to prevent the NDP from going the same way as the Labor Party.

At present we are in Edmonton selling literature to students registering at the university. As soon as the Calgary campus begins classes we will hold a meeting there and then begin the tour east.



END CANADA'S COMPLICITY! WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS NOW! tnam Mobilization Committee 241 Victoria Street Toronto 364-5030

UDEAU WON'T GO. Toronto's Vietnam Mobilization Commit-

## Trudeau 'Style' **Out of Fashion**

What's in store for Canadians un-er the new Trudeau regime? If the ne speech was any indication and it ought to be, since it projects be government's legislative program or the entire year — the "Just Society" isn't much improvement over at the Pearson government of-ed. Forty-six of the 47 proposals re simply carryovers from unfin-ed business promised but never nented by Pearson. Columnist Newman voiced the general sionment:

"Certainly there was little in the grose speech itself, either in sub-ance or in style, to indicate how re Trudeau intends' to enliven parliamentary system or to illu-ate the nation's future. A dry and resolutely uninspiring speech, it rad as though it had been written

ra computer."
There was so little in Trudeau's
rogram that the opposition parties
and debate on the speech after a
we days — well ahead of schedule.
Allions of people who voted for
focau in the belief that his
briging" style would launch a dyunic era in Canadian life are bemaine to wonder how long they a computer. ning to wonder how long they ve to wait for the new era Trudeau has bombed. "Aspirations d their realization have to be red by a sober awareness of ," the throne speech counraity," the throne speech coun-cled us. But the speech scarcely dected reality. On the eve of par-iment's opening, the Economic bancil of Canada reported that no exchan 41 percent of the popula-ina are living below the poverty he. What did Trudeau promise fuce people? Nothing, Unemploy-sent this winter threatens to be the seviest in several years. Yet the viest in several years. Yet the vernment's dumping of the winter rets program, a major source of sonal employment, will merely avate the situation and sharpen financial crisis in municipalities. Instead of eliminating the \$1.7 fion swallowed in "defense" each at other priority areas were pared cut government spending. Truas large reductions in grants to ural activities aroused wide-ead hostility, and his slicing of earch scholarships and grants re-

nomic situation facing most students. Asked about the thousands of students unable to work during the summer, Trudeau commented "I hope they don't revolt." He might well worry — the younger and in-creasingly-critical students will not be content with a PM who executes a fine performance only on the div-

Nor does the throne speech offer any solutions to other pressing prob-lems such as soaring living costs. For example, all we have in answer to the critical housing situation is Hellyer's "sneaking suspicion" that

(See page 8)

## NDP, Students Build Oct. 26 Antiwar Rally



## Sharp Supports **Viet Bombing**

the Vietnam war has reached new depths with the latest statement by External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp. In reply to a question from NDP House leader David Lewis, Sharp said Canada would not endorse U Thant's resolution for a halt to the U.S. bombing of north Vietnam because it lacked "balance.

nam because it lacked balance. Sharp's exact words were:

"A resolution calling only for a half in the bombing without stressing the obligation on the other side to contribute significantly to military. de-escalation would not seem to re flect what has to be done by both sides if peace is to be restored."

Just a year ago, Sharp's predeces-sor Paul Martin surprised a lot of people with his statement that a uni-lateral bombing halt by the United lateral bombing halt by the United States was "a matter of first priprity if we are to start the process of de-escalation." Many interpreted his re-marks to indicate a shift from "quiet" support to open criticism of U.S. policy. Martin, of course, made U.S. poincy, Martin, of course, made it clear that he simply wanted to remove the "onus" for the war's continuation from the White House, and shift it to the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

The Paris talks notwithstanding, The Paris talks notwithstanding, the U.S. bombing continues — and at higher levels than ever. But for unexplained reasons, Trudeau's cabinet thinks the U.S. has now discharged its "onus." Could the government's shift have any relation to



Mitchell Sharp

the U.S. State Department's known displeasure concerning U Thant's suggestion?

Whatever the explanation, the vast majority of Canadians do not share Trudeau's well-known view that vic-Trudeau's well-known view that vic-tims of aggression are a matter of indifference, to be left to "stew in their own juice." By demonstrating our opposition to the Vietnam war in massive numbers on Oct. 26, we can show Trudeau and his sort that we want no part of his government's craven complicity in the aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism. conference in Chicago, the movers of the original motion amended it to state that CUS would "support the International Week of Protest and help build mass demonstrations on Oct. 26." The congress supported the motion by a majority of 75 percent. In Montreal, an impressive list of

are moving into high gear October 26 International

Canada so far.

Protest against the war in Vietnam Internationally, massive mobiliza-tions are being planned in the United

tions are being planned in the Office States, Britain, Japan and many other countries. As the following re-ports indicate, Oct. 26 is shaping up to be the biggest, most impressive day of anti-war demonstrations in

At its meeting last week, the Vanconver Libor Council voted unani-mously to endorse and support the Oct. 26 IDP demonstration in that

Oct. 26 IDP demonstration in that city. The Labor Council is a partici-pating group in the Vancouver Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (CCEWV), which brings together over 30 groups in-cluding several NDP constituency

associations. The CCEWV, which has already endorsed the call of the

U.S. Student Mobilization Commit for action on Oct. 26, met Sept. to consider specific proposals.

Among these were a submission from the Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee suggesting a demonstra-

tion focusing on a federal building, the Liberal party headquarters, and the U.S. consulate. (Full report next

100,000-member

Union of Students voted to support the International Week of Protest, Oct. 21-27, at its recent congress in

Originally the congress had been

presented with a resolution simply

stating opposition to the war and calling for U.S. withdrawal and an

calling for U.S. winderswar and an end to Canadian government com-plicity in the war. However, follow-ing a speech by Joe Young, chair-man of the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam, who had just returned the day before from the Student Mobilization Committee

endorsations has already been won for the Oct. 26 protest. The Union Générale des Etudiants du Ouébec (UGEQ) has given its formal Other sponsors include Roland

Morin, president of the Quebec NDP: Laurier Lapierre, federal vice-president, NDP: Donald Boyle, NDP: Laurier Lapiere, receiral vice-president, NDP: Donald Boyle, NDP candidate in Laval; Paul-Marie Lapointe, editor of *Le Magazine Macleun*; and Claude Charron, vice-president, external affairs, UGEQ. The Front de Libération Populaire

has formally endorsed the action.

An organizing meeting called by
the Voix du Québec sur le Vietnam

(VQV) is deciding Oct. 2 what form the action will take.

In Toronto, the Vietnam Mobilization Committee has already leaflets and posters for the Oct. 26

(See page 2)



Joe Young

Despite Vancouver Decision

#### **Politics** NDP Edging Into City

motion of the New Demo-Party towards entering the Party municipal political arena received a setback at the Sept. 14-15 conven-tion of Vancouver NDP members. sparsely-attended conference voted 39 to 35 to reverse the de-cison of its previous meeting in April to field an NDP slate in the December civic elections.

The meagre attendance at the Sept. 14-15 conference reflected in part the feeling among Vancouver NDPers that the projected civic slate band after the band after the projected civic slate. had already been effectively tor-pedoed by the provincial leadership. B.C. party leaders insisted that the April decision was subject to the approval of the provincial executives while making continued efforts to dissuade Vancouver NDPers from proceeding with their slate.

B.C. MLAs Norman Levi and om Berger led the attack in the conference, insisting that the NDP had neither the money nor the time to field an effective state. In any case, they said, the party's priority must be to prepare for the next pro-

The default of the NDP appears to have blocked any opportunity for a genuine labor alternative in the

ver labor council is backing COPE a phoney "non-partisan" municipal party, while elements within the NDP leadership are backing a rival party, TEAM, a new civic front for big business interests associated with the Liberal party. It may well be left once more to the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists, who sponsored the dynamic campaign of Jean Rands for mayor two years ago, to provide a genuine labor alternative in the coming mayoralty election.

The episodic retreat of the Van-uver NDP is all the more remark-ile in view of the general trend of able in view of the general trend of the NDP toward municipal political action. In Ontario, perhaps the main stronghold of "non-partisan" munici-pal politics, NDP leader Donald MacDonald declared in September that the NDP will run municipal candidates in 1969.

Yet even here there has been obvious hesitation. MacDonald failed to make clear whether he was projecting an effective NDP slate for key municipal posts, posing a clear labor alternative to existing Liberal-Tory dominated city governments, or whether he intended the NDP to run individual candidates while labor machine

In Toronto, where the NDP has been committed to run in the mu-nicipal election for many months, the only concrete move by the lead-ership has been to push through dissolution of the broadly representative area council. No effective sub-stitute has yet been formed. No real preparations to defeat the Liberal Tory machines in next year's tions have been even begun. elections Nonetheless, the prospects are better than ever for an effective NDP slate in Toronto and other key centers in 1969.

How can we explain this continuing reluctance of the NDP leader-ship to enter the municipal arena? Individual NDPers on municipal councils often claim that the "non-partisan" tradition, by permitting them to duck identification with the NDP, enabled them to win office and liberalize civic government.

In fact the absence of open party states only masks the domination of the old party machines, who control all but a handful of seats on the main municipal councils. It has fa-cilitated the absorption of individual

(See page 7)

#### Despite Vancouver Decision

## NDP Edging Into City Politics

by John Riddell

The motion of the New Democratic Party towards entering the municipal political arena received a setback at the Sept. 14-15 convention of Vancouver NDP members. The sparsely-attended conference voted 39 to 35 to reverse the decision of its previous meeting in April to field an NDP slate in the December civic elections.

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B.C. MLAs Norman Levi and Tom Berger led the attack in the conference, insisting that the NDP had neither the money nor the time to field an effective slate. In any case, they said, the party's priority must be to prepare for the next provincial election.

The default of the NDP appears to have blocked any opportunity for a genuine labor alternative in the coming civic elections. The Vancouver labor council is backing COPE— a phoney "non-partisan" municipal party, while elements within the NDP leadership are backing a rival party, TEAM, a new civic front for big business interests associated with the Liberal party. It may well be left once more to the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists, who sponsored the dynamic campaign of Jean Rands for mayor two years ago, to provide a genuine labor alternative in the coming mayoralty election.

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Yet even here there has been obvious hesitation. MacDonald failed to make clear whether he was projecting an effective NDP slate for key municipal posts, posing a clear labor alternative to existing Liberal-Tory dominated city governments, or whether he intended the NDP to run individual candidates while labor

continued to endorse other candidates tied to the Liberal and Tory machine.

In Toronto, where the NDP has been committed to run in the municipal election for many months, the only concrete move by the leadership has been to push through dissolution of the broadly representative area council. No effective substitute has yet been formed. No real preparations to defeat the Liberal and Tory machines in next year's elections have been even begun. Nonetheless, the prospects are better than ever for an effective NDP slate in Toronto and other key centers in 1969.

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(See page 7)



## . Municipal Politics

(Continued from page 1)

NDPers like Toronto's mayor Dennison or Burnaby's mayor Emmott, to the point where they become willing puppets of the big business machines.

The arguments of Berger and Levi in the Vancouver convention reflect the NDP leadership's lack of confidence in the party's ability to match strength with the deeply entrenched municipal machines of the old-line parties. Yet on provincial and federal levels, the NDP has now taken on the very same machines and, backed by the support of the labor movement, regularly achieved votes of 30 to 40 percent in cities like Toronto, Vancouver, Hamilton and Winnipeg — enough to sweep most civic elections.

The NDP leaders obviously have believed that the federal and provincial parliaments are the centers of power, while municipal government is a less important arena. Yet the big business parties long ago realized that civic government, with its rich fields for patronage and influence, its close involvement with the daily lives of working people, was an essential base for their power.

There is growing realization that the Party cannot continue to ignore an arena which, through control of schools, of police, of property taxes, of housing and urban development, and so much else, centers on itself so many of the most immediate problems, the most deep-rooted discontents, the most pressing political issues before working people.

The municipal arena opens the door to year-round education and action, which on such burning issues as housing can easily take the form of direct community action projects as well as participation in the elections. It will tend to overcome the tendency for the NDP to be merely an election machine, by involving it more directly in the immediate problems of workers and their families.

If the NDP is now at last edging towards open involvement in civic politics it is in part because the growing inefficiency of old-style "non-partisan" ward-heeling civic government, the mounting cost of civic elections, has convinced even the capitalist politicians that political parties with their resources and cohesion must directly enter civic politics. If in some cities, like Vancouver and Montreal, they use "civic" parties as a front, they are now considering direct participation. In Toronto, for example, the Tory party has voted to enter a slate in the coming elections, and as we go to press, the Liberals are considering a similar decision.

Not less important is the growing impatience of NDP activists with the abstention of the NDP. The effective municipal campaigns of the League for Socialist Action in the key centers of Vancouver and Toronto, as in the federal by-election in Colchester-Hants, have provided a focus for the discontent with the NDP's failure to contest Liberal and Tory power on all levels and in all arenas.

LSA campaigns in 1966 set a model for future NDP slates presenting a popular program of effective demands such as massive low-cost public housing, public control of police, tax the greedy, not the needy, municipal provision of medicare, public property insurance, and free public transit.

At the same time, the LSA campaigns linked these municipal issues to the overall need for a labor and NDP municipal government, one which would defend and promote the interests of the labor movement, and the need for a civic government which would take a stand on the great questions before us like the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

These campaigns have only indicated the possibilities and the urgent need for effective NDP action in civic politics. Let us hope that despite the setback in Vancouver the coming year sees the hopes of thousands of workers for a civic government that will represent their interests — an NDP administration — move toward reality in Canada's great cities.

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## Trailblazer Tour Holds **Big Campus Meetings**

SEPTEMBER 27 — The following report from Brandon, Man., is the latest news from the three young socialists who are now on their return trip east from a summer of travelling across the country on the Vanguard Trailblazers Tour selling socialist and anti-war literature.

We're in the midst of visiting our fifth campus now. Our meetings, which feature the Cuban film on Che Guevara, Ever Onward to Victory, have drawn varied audiences from 35 in Calgary to 250 in Saskatoon. One of the most impressive meetings was in Edmonton, where 150 people crammed into a rather small hall to hear our views.

Our literature sales have been very successful - literature on Che is by far the most popular.

The signs of student power consciousness are evident on every campus we have visited. The most common complaint of students is the government's restrictions on student loans this year after a summer of high student unemployment. In Calgary, a protest was being organized at a meeting of Students for a Democratic University that we attended. In Saskatoon and Regina, plans were being made for a big protest Oct. 2 in Regina to coincide with Trudeau's appearance there. They expect 3,000 or more to participate.

In Regina, a more sophisticated level of student consciousness was evident also in a General Assembly

of Students. About 850 students attended this meeting to decide, among other things, that they and the faculty would elect a committee with 50-50 representation to decide who the new dean of arts and sciences should be, to be ratified by a referendum in the students' union and faculty association. The decision to participate in the protest for student loans was taken with only one person opposed!

While the university students may be gaining some ground in the defense of their rights, high school students have more to fight. This was illustrated to us rather graphically when all three of us were arrested outside a Regina high school for selling Young Socialist Forum "without a license.'

The police held us for three quarters of an hour, then took us before the chief for a lecture on our magazine. He told us it was "trash," "malicious," said that "no one reads it anyway." He thought we didn't know what we want - "just like the Indians and hippies." The chief complained that "the campus is where it all starts." He wanted us to leave town immediately, and let us go on the proviso that we not be caught for anything in Regina again.

Later on campus a girl who heard about the incident remarked: "but I thought this was a free country," as she bought a subscription to Young Socialist Forum.

### Open HQ in Edmonton

by Dennis Lomas

EDMONTON - September 14 marked a big day for the growing socialist forces in Edmonton. It was the day the members and friends of Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière officially opened their new socialist headquarters. The opening consisted of a gala party with band, refreshments and dancing.

The place is a centrally located corner store and hall, with a seating capacity of more than 150, back office space, and a soon-to-be-opened bookstore.

This undertaking represents the work of dynamic organizations which have proven themselves by their growth. Two years ago the LSA and YS combined were a tiny handful in Edmonton who met in a small room in a comrade's basement. Now with their forces augmented they are moving dramatically ahead in the student and the worker arena.

Speaking to the celebration, Dennis Lomas, organizer of the Edmonton YS, said "this new headquarters is dramatic proof to those who failed to see it before that in Edmonton revolutionary socialism is relevent-Edmonton is no exception. This opening is no isolated accident, rather it reflects and is part of the ongoing radicalization around the world — in the colonial countries. in the deformed workers states, and in the advanced capitalist countries. The reason for the growth of the YS in Edmonton is its ability to identify with and fight for the new forces for social change that are going to sweep the world."

A spokesman for the LSA pointed to the growing militancy of the construction workers in Alberta as a sign of the times, something that we are going to see a lot of in the future. He said the LSA with the new headquarters will all the more be able to attract workers to revolutionary politics.

The new headquarters is located at 10402-97 St., Edmonton 15, just east of the main post office. Ph. 424-7644.

## Stephen Lewis Opens Debate on NDP Aims

"As we approach our provincial convention and the exciting search for a new federal leader, it seems to me that it's time to start talking about whither the NDP," Stephen Lewis, member of the Ontario legislature, told a recent NDP riding meeting in Toronto.

As his own contribution to the discussion, Lewis criticized the party for becoming "relentlessly pragmatic" in the "anxious, self-conscious search for respectability and security" in Canadian politics. The party has muted its arguments, equivocated and even inhibited its own dissent in order to win the support of "that potential mass of uncommitted middle-class support." In the process, Lewis says, the party has become "irrelevant."

"There is no relevance to a socialist impulse which plays any part of the Establishment game inside or outside the legislature. . . If genuine analysis leads us to extremes then nothing should be allowed to moderate our position. That way lies relevance. Any other way lies obscurity."

Despite the radical implications of his critique, Lewis' declaration offers no alternative to the NDP's existing opportunist, reformist program as it has been expressed down through the years. For example, Lewis calls for "a re-assertion of the role of the public sector" - but quickly adds, "By that I don't mean any quaint reliance on public ownership." Referring to the problem of U.S. control of the Canadian economy, Lewis confines his proposals to a government development corporation (like Trudeau's promised CDC?), implementation of the Carter report on taxation, and "tough codes of economic conduct." These, he naively suggests, would be sufficient to "gradually reconstruct the economic

## CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

order, redistribute income, and still guarantee a profit to foreign investors." (Emphasis added.)

So far, Lewis' critique of the NDP leadership's opportunism goes no further than a call for a "new style" — a new brand of opportunism, in fact, more sensitive to what he terms the "continuous ferment" and "prevelance of rebellion" which exists in growing layers of the population.

The Socialist Caucus has just put out its eleventh Bulletin, an unofficial internal publication orienting the efforts of those NDP members and supporters seeking to win the party to a socialist program.

This issue of the Bulletin contains a section of general news as well as the positions worked out by Ontario Caucus supporters for the coming provincial convention of the party. An analysis of the recent federal elections and an article on the Oct. 26 International Days of Protest against the Vietnam war are among the general items, while the Ontario convention positions deal with issues such as vouth and education. labor, housing, nationalization, women, Vietnam, and the need for a "year round active party not confined simply to electoral activity."

For copies of the Bulletin and information about the Caucus write to Box 872, Station F, Toronto 5, Ont.

The New Democratic Youth has come out with two radical demands which strike at the root of the undemocratic nature of the present educational system. In a statement

published in the Sept. 18 Commonwealth, the NDY proposes that "individual schools" should "be governed with respect to the spending of money, the hiring and firing of staff, discipline, and course content by an elected committee of students and faculty." Besides repeating the NDP's long-standing call for free education at all levels, including university, the NDY statement demands "payment of wages to all students engaged in study above the 12th year."

The NDY's demands for student wages and democratic control of the schools provide an excellent programmatic basis for it to intervene in the student movement. The NDY statement does not spell it out, but insofar as the student power movement is to realize its aims on the political level, it must carry its demands into the NDP and ensure that they will be implemented by an NDP government.

### Que. Votes to Go **Provincial**

The Ouebec NDP has decided to enter provincial politics, despite considerable opposition extending even into the top leadership. The provincial council meeting of Oct. 12-13 voted to recommend suspension of the party's long-standing ban on provincial action to the convention due next year, probably in May. The move into the provincial arena was recommended by a committee struck off earlier this year. According to La Presse the NDP's Quebec executive voted two weeks ago in favor of NDP political action at "all levels of government in Quebec - provincial, municipal and school board."

Roland Morin, president of the Quebec executive told the Globe and Mail: "We want to open all the windows, rethink our entire program and participate in politics at all levels."

Robert Cliche announced his resignation as Quebec leader at the council meeting. He has always been reluctant to enter the provincial field. An interim leader will be appointed next month.

Spokesmen of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière played a prominent role at the council meeting, which was attended by about 50 NDP activists. An LSO statement greeting the committee's recommendation to go provincial was displayed on the official documents table.

Several speakers questioned whether the new provincial party should take the form of the NDP. suggesting that a new name and organization might be more likely to win the support of the Confederation of National Trade Unions. The CNTU leadership is unfriendly to close political association with the Quebec Federation of Labor which supports the NDP.

Some sections of the party are still reluctant to make an all-out attack in the provincial arena.

A proposal by LSO organizer Arthur Young that the party contest the forthcoming provincial byelections received only a lukewarm response.

## Oct. 26 Rally Endorsed by

The entire caucus of New Democrat MPs in the house of commons and the Québec NDP Provincial Council have endorsed the Oct. 26 International Day of Protest mobilization against the war in Vietnam. As well, official NDP bodies and some labor unions are supporting the action by participating in building the mobilization. The following notes continue our coverage of actions being projected across the country.

The Vancouver Coordinating Committee conference on Sept. 29 decided to rent a headquarters for a month and staff it with a full-timer. The address is Suite 1, 525 West Pender, Vancouver. The conference voted to make its demands at the march Withdraw U.S. Troops Now!, Self-determination for Vietnam!. U.S. Aggressors Get out of Vietnam!, and End Canadian Support for U.S. Aggression in Vietnam.

The committee has already reeived sizeable donations of money and supplies from five local unions. Among the speakers at the Oct. 26 rally will be an active-duty G.I., Fom Berger, NDP MLA, and Marin Loney, president of Simon Fraser student council.

On October 12, a solidarity demonstration with the San Francisco GI march was held at the court house by the Vietnam Day Commit-

A planning meeting in Ottawa Oct. 6 called by the Carleton CEWV and attended by representatives of the Canadian Union of Students, the Communist Party, the NDY, the Otlawa CEWV and the Ottawa YS/

(See page 7)

(Continued from page 1)

LJS decided to have a parade through downtown Ottawa and a

Parliament Hill rally. The St. George NDP Riding As-

sociation has become the first Toronto area riding to send an official delegate to the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. The attempts to get Yonge St. are moving ahead well. The Civil Liberties Association has sent a letter to the Police Commission asking that the permit be allowed. Joe Young, executive secretary of the VMC, has been on both major Toronto TV stations explaining the committee's stand. The committee will be taking the issue before the Board of Control and the Police Commission before the demonstration. The campaign has received support from NDP provincial secretary John Harney and Prof. C. B. Macpherson of the University of Tor-

Actions will be held widely across southern Ontario. Groups are planning to come by car and bus to Toronto from Guelph, Waterloo, St. Catharines, Niagara Falls, Peterborough, Oshawa and Kingston. In Hamilton, the Oct. 26 Coordinating Committee is planning a march from the city hall to Gore Park before the marchers proceed on to Toronto.



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## Trailblazers End **Best Tour Ever**

by Colleen Levis

On Oct. 12, the young socialists of the '68 Vanguard Trailblazers Tour arrived back in Toronto after a summer spent selling socialist and anti-war literature across the country as far west as the Rockies.

The last leg of our journey was as successful as the first. We had from 50 people at our meetings in Brandon and University of Winnipeg to 250 at U of Manitoba and over 300 at the Lakehead. In the Lakehead, one professor cancelled his class and brought the students to our meeting.

The film on Che Guevara was the main attraction, but students were very interested in listening to the short talk on what the YS/LJS is. We did very well on literature sales and subscriptions to the Vanguard and Young Socialist Forum.

At Laurentian University in Sudbury, we managed to arrange, advertise and hold a meeting of over 60 in half a day. All in all, the campus half of the tour spoke to over 1300 students, sold \$500 worth of literature and about 225 subscrip-

Student power groups are being formed on every campus, although many are not yet formalized. There are students at every university and college interested in selling YSF and many interested in setting up Young Socialist clubs like those already initiated on some campuses.

All the major campuses will be united by actions on October 26 against the war in Vietnam and Canada's complicity in it.

This was without doubt the most successful tour yet since we started them about 10 years ago. The unprecendented attendance and response at our public meetings was an inspiring indication of the scope of the opportunities for the growth of the socialist movement now opening up right across the country.

### Meeting Pays Tribute to Che Guevara

TORONTO — Over 300 people gathered here on Oct. 4 to mark the first anniversary of the death of Che Guevara, to pay tribute to his ideas and his example.

Among the speakers were Acting Cuban Ambassador to Canada Antonio Breton; poet Al Purdy; Hans Modlich, chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee which organized the meeting; Dr. Gerald Caplan of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education; Andy Wernick, leader of the University of Toronto Student Movement; and Rolando Nunez of the Friends of the Latin American People. Chairman was Rev. Dan Heap, a recent NDP candidate.

Remarking on the theme of Cuba's 100 years of struggle for her independence, Ambassador Breton noted how Che Guevara was an embodiment and continuation of this tradition. "A hero," he concluded, is like a seed which nourishes the morals of a nation. The seed of Che Guevara is very big in the hearts of Latin America and from there it will rise one day in a very great movement that nobody will be able to control and at last and forever Latin America and all the countries in the world will be a society of equal men, of equal interest, without the ugliness of material incentives that can cause so much damage to a society."

Hans Modlich of FPCC noted the relevance of Che Guevara to the struggle here. "Guevara was equally at home in a cane field inspiring sugar cane-cutters with his confidence in a new society as he was in discussions with intellectuals about the need for a truly revolutionary art, freed from the straitjacket of dienation. Che marks the rebirth of he ideas of socialism in America ind Western Europe, and he personfies the essential humanitarian character of socialism."

The meeting was also endorsed by the Ontario Union of Students, and the Latin America Justice Committee, the Young Socialists and the African Students Union at the Uni-Versity of Toronto. The collection was turned over to the Justice Committee for a solidarity campaign with the embattled students of Mexico.

### The first Annversary: 'Che' lives!' REMARKS ON A SPEECH BY CHE GUEVARA, OCTOBER 1962

From Workers' Vanguard, October 1968 (Introduction by the Editor, Ross Dowson)

October 8 marks the first anniversary of the death of Che Guevara. It is a significant day for revolutionaries throughout the world. As with Malcolm X, Che has more supporters today than when he was alive. In the colonial world, among the Afro-American people, in the ranks of the embattled students of the Americas and East and West Europe — wherever the struggle spreads — Che's name predominates. Today there can be no question of the validity of the cry that went up everywhere at the time of his death — "Che lives!"

In reflecting on Che's life. one's thoughts go almost inevitably to the revolutionary youth, for there can be no question that his example has had its most profound impact among the youth.

Che is properly regarded as the outstanding example by young revolutionary fighters because he personified so magnificently the unity of the word and the deed. For him there could be no split between revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.

"Many will call me an adventurer, he said in his farewell letter to his family on leaving for Bolivia, "and I am. but of a different kind — one who risks his skin in order to prove his convictions."

But it was not simply to prove a particular notion that Che was ready to risk his skin. He had a Marxist conception of the world struggle for the liberation of mankind. He devoted his physical energies to that struggle, and his mental energies as well. His speeches and writing underline his deep concern with key questions of political theory — philosophy, economics, political organization, military. strategy, and party-building.

A particular concern for Che, expressed in his profound work "Socialism and Man" and elsewhere, was the quality of the individual cadres that must be assembled in building the revolutionary vanguard. On this first anniversary of his death we reprint remarks he made on this question to an assembly of Cuban Communist Youth on Oct. 20, 1962. It appears in John Gerassi's book, Venceremos! — The Speeches and Writings of Che Guevara (Macmillan, \$7.95).

#### Che Guevara's speech to the assembly of Communist Youth

I believe that the first thing that should characterize a Young Communist is the honor he feels because he is a Young Communist; that pride that leads him to show the world he is a Young Communist. He does not keep his honor secret or reduce it to formulas, but expresses it at all times; it comes from his spirit, and he i& inspired to demonstrate it because it is the symbol of his pride.

Besides this, there should be a great sense of duty toward the society we are building, as human beings, with our neighbors. and with the men of the world That is something that must characterize the Young Communist. In addition to this there should be a great sensitivity to all problems, a great sensitivity to injustice an independent spirit, whenever something arises that is not right, no matter what anyone says about it; to concern himself with all that he does not understand; to discuss and ask for clarification of what is not clear; to declare war on formalism on all types of formalism; to be always open to new experiences, 'to conform to' the great experience of humanity, which for many years has been advancing on the path of socialism; to be aware the concrete conditions of our country, to the realities that exist in Cuba; and to think — each and every one of us — about how to go about-changing reality, how to improve it.

The Young Communist ought to decide to be first in everything, to fight to be first, and to feel frustrated when he is forced to occupy any other place; to fight to be better, to be first. Of course not everyone can be first, but one can be among the first, in the vanguard. He should decide to be a living example, a mirror for those comrades who do not belong to Communist youth organizations; to be an example also to older men and women. Those who have lost faith in life and a certain youthful enthusiasm always respond to inspiration and good example. That is still another task for the Young Communists.

Together with all this, a great spirit of sacrifice, there ought to be a spirit of sacrifice not reserved for heroic days only, but for every moment. One ought to sacrifice oneself to help a companion with his little jobs so that he can finish his work, his studies, so that he can improve in any way possible. One always ought to be attentive to the human mass that surrounds one.

This means that every Young Communist ought to be essentially human, so human that he responds to the best in human beings, brings out the best a man has to offer by means of work, study, and the excercise of continued solidarity with his people and with all people of the world. He must develop his sensitivity to the maximum, to the point that he feels anguish when a man is assassinated in any corner of the world, and he feels elation when in some corner of the world a new banner of liberty is raised.

The Young Communist cannot be limited by the frontiers of a territory; he must practice proletarian internationalism and feel it as something of his own. He must remember, as we all must remember — all those who aspire to be Communists here in Cuba — that he is a real and inspiring example for our whole America. Even more than for America, he is an example for other countries of the world who fight on other continents for liberty against colonialism, against neocolonialism, against imperialism, against all the forms of oppression by unjust systems.

He ought to remember always that we are a lighted torch, that we; are the same mirror that each of us is. for the people of Cuba. We are the mirror in order that all the peoples of America may see themselves, all the people of the oppressed world who are fighting for their liberty. And we must be worthy of setting that example. Every hour, every minute, we must be worthy.

That is what we believe a Young Communist ought to be. And if we are told that we are romantics, that we are inveterate idealists, that we are thinking about impossibilities, that one

cannot find an almost archetypal human being among the masses of a people, we have to answer a thousand times that we can. Yes. we can. We know for a fact that people can continue advancing, doing away with human pettiness, as we have been doing in Cuba during these four years of Revolution.

A people can perfect itself as we all have been perfecting ourselves, day by day, settling accounts intransigently with all those who lag behind and are not capable of marching to the rhythm of the Cuban Revolution. It should be this way, it has to be this way, and it will be this way, comrades. It will be this way because you are Young Communists, creators of the perfect society, human beings destined to live in a world from which everything old and decadent, everything that represents a society whose foundations have been destroyed, will have disappeared, forever.

In order to achieve this; we must all work every day, work in the direction of our inner improvement, of augmenting our knowledge and increasing our comprehension of the world around us. We need to inquire and learn and become well acquainted with the why of things; to feel as one's own the great problems of humanity.

Then, at a given moment on an ordinary day sometime years from now – after making many sacrifices, yes, after perhaps having found ourselves often at the edge of destruction — having seen perhaps, the demolition of our factories and having reconstructed them anew; after having witnessed the assassination, the murder of many of us, and having rebuilt what may have been destroyed; after all of this — some fine day, almost without realizing it, we shall have created, together with the other peoples of the world, the communist society, our ideal.

BULLETIN INTERIEUR 1970

# CONTIENT:

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La fuite			Onen Allendare	HERE BOOKS
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e opportuniste hors du Trotskysme Avant-propos par Phil Courneyeur.

- L'évolution de la tendance Rands-Engler par Phil Courneyeur et John Steele.
- Le socialisme révolutionnaire au Camada par Rands et Engler (extraits).
- Déclaration de formation de la
- Tendance Slocock.
- ✓ E Déclaration du Comité Politique de la LSO/ LSA sur la formation de la tendance.
  - Déclaration de démission de la Tendance Slocock.
  - Déclaration de démission de Gibbs et de Severin.
  - Lettre de démission de Gordon Ostby.

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### DECLARATION DU COMITE POLITIQUE DE LA LSO/LSA SUR LA FORMATION DE LA TENDANCE.

Un groupe de camarades de la branche de Vancouver a soumis la déclaration i-jointe en tant que déclaration de formation de tendance. Le document n'est pas igné mais nous avons cru comprendre que les camarades L.S., K.C., D.C., S.C., D., K.G., et possiblement 3 ou 4 autres l'ont signé. Nous voulons informer la Ligue de la formation de cette tendance et en même temps, formuler quelques commentaires.

Le congrès de la LSA/LSO a eu lieu il y a seulement 4 mois. Ce congrès a été le congrès le plus minutieusement documenté de notre histoire. Par ce congrès, le mouvement a clairement défini sa façon de voir sur une série de questions majeures --ce-ci, non seulement par l'adoption de certaines résolutions clés, mais aussi, afin qu'il ne subsiste aucune confusion possible en ce qui concerne le sens des résolutions, par le rejet de certaines autres soumissions et de certains amendments qui auraient pu laisser planer des doutes sur certaine questions.

La résolution politique était un des documents clés adopté par le congrès. Ce document traitait de ce que cette déclaration nomme "l'orientation générale de tout le mouvement", de "l'orientation du mouvement" et des "perspectives futures pour une radicalisation de masse au Canada", etc.

Le congrè a adopté ce document unanimement. Nous aimerions également faire remarquer que les position politiques de Rands-Engler (dans la mesure où elles ne les ont pas amenés à quitter le mouvement et à s'en déclarer les adversaires) — ot avec lesquelles cette tendance déclare qu'elle pourrait "être en accord", ont été, après une discussion et un vote pleinement démocratiques, rejetées par le congrès.

Un mouvement sérieux, sans même parler d'un mouvement Bolchevik centraliste démocratique, ne peut regarder qu'avec une certaine appréhension une tendance qui semble vouloir recommencer une discussion sur laquelle un congrès s'est si récemment et si clairement prononcé.

Depuis le congrès, nous n'avons connu aucun nouveau développement sur les scènes canadienne et internationale qui pourrait remettre en question ses décisions, Nous n'avons pas connu, non plus, d'expériences dans l'application de la ligne du congrès qui puisse remettre sa validité en cause.

La déclaration met beaucoup d'insistance sur ce qui "pourrait bien arriver" et ce qui "pourrait bien avoir lieu" -- et si ceci et si cela devait survenir, sur ce que cela voudrait dire et sur ce que devrait être notre véritable rôle.

Bien que nous ne soyons pas opposés à la spéculation sur les défis qui pourraient confronter le mouvement sur son chemin, nous n'avons absolument aucune raison de croire que notre mouvement se montrera incapable de faire face aux développements futurs. Le leadership de la Ligue a été élu il n'y que 4 mois et était représentatif de toutes les section et de toutes les tendances existantes à l'époque. Nous ne voyons aucune raison de remettre en question ses capacités ou celles du mouvement à répondre adéquatement aux développements à venir.

Pour que les rêves et les spéculations puissent avoir une certaine valeur pour le mouvement, ils doivent avoir des liens avec la réalité qui nous entoure. Et c'est à ce niveau, lorsque la déclaration de tendance s'aventure sur le plan concret -- dans les trois domaines qui d'aprèselle auraient besoin d'être séricusement réexaminés que nous trouvens la plus grande confusion sinon des erreurs évidentes.

Le document "The NDP Hardens", adopté par le congrès précédent, donnait plus de poids, projetait de plus grandes possibilités pour le socialisme pour les tendance pro-NPD à l'intérieur du mouvement syndical que dans les associations de circonscriptions. Mais pourquoi la radicalisation ne se reflètera-t'elle pas à l'intérieur des associations de circonscriptions? Et pourquoi ce travail devrait-il être "abandonné", abandonné en faveur d'un travail au sein des syndicats et de la propagation directe

des idées trotskystes?

Quant au Caucus Socialiste en Ontario que nous avons soutenu avec de grands efforts pendant l'année dernière, il s'est véritablement épanoui au dernier congrès du NPD, attirant des militants dirigeants de toute la province, gagnant le congrès à plusieurs de ses positions -- notamment sur le Vietnam et le logement -- et établissant sa légitimité.

Son Mérection" la vie elle même l'a prouvé, comme nous l'avions prévu, n'était en aucune façon artificielle et ne peut être considérée comme n'etant que de valeur politique négligeable.

A la place d'une stratégie -- par exemple notre orientation NPD -- le document de la tendance nous demande de juger divers développements sur leurs mérites individuels. Les associations de locataires ne nous présentent aucun nouveau problème. En fait, à Toronto, nous sommes dans le leadership de la lutte la plus spectaculaire que les locataires aient menée jusqu'à date. Ce problème est hautement politique -- et c'est fait et non pas une conception mécanique ou autre, qui l'amène inévitablement dans la direction du NPD.

Quant au COPE. C'est une politique de collaboration de classe! Un front populaire — voilà en quoi réside sa "signification politique indépendante". Non sculement nous refusons de nous identifier evec de telles formations mais nous luttons vigoureusement contre elles. Le COPE est un développement définitivement rétrograde, rendu possible par la trahison du NPD et sa faillite à lever la bannière de l'action politique indépendante de la classe ouvrière sur l'arène municipale de Vancouver.

Quant au troisième point -- notre mouvement a certainement une perspective de masse. Elle vise à fondre en un seul mouvement de masse les divers éléments qui s'opposent spontanément à la guerre du Vietnam. D'oules slogans "Fin à la complicité canadienne" et "Retrait immédiat des troupes américaines". Ces slogans ne sont pas abstraits mais profondément anti-impérialistes et anti-capitalistes qu'ils aient été adoptés par toutes les forces majeures et effectives du mouvement anti-guerre à travers le pays prouve bien qu'ils ne sont pas artificiels.

Nous avons fortement insistés sur le caractère non-exclusionniste du mouvement nous n'avons tenté en aucune façon d'empêcher la participation de qui que ce soit ou d'empêcher quelle que demande que ce soit. Nous avons combattut pour que nos slogans, qui sont totalement révolutionnaires, puisse prévaloir. Pour que ces slogans prévalent, il est nécessaire que ceux qui les préconisent les mettent de l'avant.

D'autres slogans, tel "Défendons la révolution coloniale" ne sont ni plus explicite ni moins intransigeant. -- tout au contraire, ils sont plus vagues, plus abstraits et moins capables de mobiliser un mouvement de masse.

La déclaration de tendance abonde d'expressions telles — "une extension agressive d'un travail de masse ouvert par la ISA", "propagation directe des idées trotskystes", "ouvertament trotskyste", etc. Nous ne comprenons pas tout à fait de quoi il s'agit. La ISA est un mouvement proscrit à l'intérieur du MPD — mais estelle en train de se perdre dans ce mouvement réformiste? Le Vanguard est maintenant publié sur une base bimensuelle et est largement circulé dans le mouvement syndical et au sein du MPD. Nous publions toutes les déclarations majeures du mouvement international. Le YSF est diffusé sur une large échelle et nous croyons comprendre que les camarades songent à le publier plus fréquemment sous forme de tabloid. La Lutte Ouvrière a été amélioré depuis le congrès et nous publions Jeune Garde sur une plus grande échelle. Nous tenons des forums de la ISA même la ou

nous avons des forces limitées. Nous publions les documents du congrès de la ISA/ISO sous forme de brochures séparées dans les deux langues. Actuellement nous sommes angagés dans la plus grosse campagne électorale du notre histoire, que nous menons d'ailleurs sous notre propre non. Non, nous ne comprenons pas du tout de quoi il s'agit.

Nous ne voyons aucun fondement pour le récuverture d'une discussion à travers le mouvement concernant la stratégie de notre travail de masse, l'orientation du mouvement, etc. Tout au contraire, nous sortons d'une période de discussions intensives et il est maintenant temps d'agir sur la base des conclusions de ces discussions — tous les camarades doivent appliquer intégralement les politiques du mouvement et les organismes dirigeants doivent voir à ce que ceci soit réalisé aux limites de nos capacités.

Nous espérons que la tendence se dissoudra sur la base d'une clarification de nos opinions qui peut avoir lieu au cours du travail régulier de la branche de Vancouver — ou bien qu'elle fasse un effort plus sérieux pour exposer ses opinions de façon à ce que le nouvement dans son ensemble puisse venir aux prises avec elles.

Le 20 novembre 1968.

# # #

## ANGUARD

at 13, No. 5 (161)

November 4, 1968

Toronto - 10 Cents

COST OF LIVING :

## Challenge to abor Ranks

The biggest challenge confronting working people of this country the continually mounting cost of bing. The only force that can really and effectively intervene in this sittion is the organized labor move-ent, over two million strong and presenting over one third of the out work force. It has failed miser-

In the face of the onslaught of nice increases hitting in from every ide even workers in manufacturing, he most highly organized and stra-cically situated sector of the work-ng class, have only succeeded in sablishing a real rate of increase of one percent a year.

The rest of the working people, hit

y the price gouging of the goods tions, by increased taxes imposed them by the many levels of Libral-Tory party governments, are seeing their real living standards readily deteriorate. The widening number of pensioners, and persons uch as university students, living on incomes, are suffering on an acreasing scale.

While the CLC leadership, in the words of its president Donald Mac-bonald, "rejects wage guidelines and rage restraints," its policies have reBusiness interests, backed up by the Trudeau government, of wage guidelines across the labor movement,

lines across the labor movement, through the back door.

Instead of mobilizing the united forces of labor in a massive co-ordinated wage struggle, as devel-oped in the late forties, they have acquiesced in the establishment of wage settlements far lower than those absolutely required, and tied them to long term contracts which make it difficult, if not impossible, to meet new waves of cuts in real

wages due to continued inflation. It isn't that there is no instru-ment in labor's arsenal to meet this problem. Following World War II and on into the '50s, union after union on this continent established in their contracts what was known as the escalator clause. This clause guaranteed automatic wage increases wtih each rise in the cost of living, usually as it was registered in the in many ways inadequate govern-ment cost of living index. In this way, by protecting the hard won base rates with automatic additional increases the unions preserved their fighting capacity to establish new

With the first slight ebb in infla-tion the leadership of nearly all the (See page 8)



STUDENT STRIKE, Thousands of students march Oct. 21 along rue Ste-Catherine in Montreal, heading for rally at Université de Montréal.

## **Quebec Student Strike:** Lessons and Prospects

Ministers do nothing. Rectors do nothing. Authorities do nothing. The last chance us us us us

MONTREAL, Oct. 27 - The poem above, writen by a student at the height of the occupation strike wave that shook Québec for over two weeks, expresses in words the revo-lutionary concept of autogestion management of the schools by stuthemselves - which thousands of students here are coming to see as the only way to run an educational system in the interests of those who are being educated.

This is the most important of the conclusions being drawn by partici-pants in what developed into the biggest student revolt in North

American history.

At the height of the revolt, 13 of the province's 23 CEGEPs (Collèges d'Enseignement Général et Professionnel — junior colleges) and 17 of the province's post-secondary institutions were occupied by stu-dents. A total of 22 of 28 postsecondary schools were paralysed by ns or occupations, and at least six high schools in the Mont-real area were the scene of protests, and in some instances, occupations. ministrations, but against the government that has installed the administrators, against a government which was responsible for the chaotic state of education in Qué-bec. In doing so, the students opened up a freewheeling discussion, in most of Québeo's schools, of more gen-eral social questions, and paved the way for a widespread challenge to existing social and political struc-

But if the ranks of the student

clusions from the struggle, their union lendership was proving itself utterly passive and incompetent. UGEQ leaders consistently failed to respond to the massive pressure exrespond to the massive pressure ex-erted by student activists. As the novement spread in its initial stages they refused to call for a general occupation strike, arguing that they represented "nothing," and could not "impose" policies upon the ranks. Although the movement was launch-ed with the occupation of CEGEP Lionel Grouls on Oct. 8 it was not

### Socialist Student is By - Election Candidate

MONTREAL - A socialist student will be running against Quebec's minister of education, Jean-Guy Cardinal, in the by-election to be held

Dec. 4 in Bagot riding, south-east of Montreal.

Michel Mill, a leader of the student occupations and study sessions at the Université de Montréal and a leading member of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, will contest the by-election as the candidate of the LJS and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

The LJS and LSO have decided to present Mill as their candidate because it is now clear that neither the Quebec New Democratic Party nor the trade unions intend to oppose the election of Cardinal.

Mill is a member of the executive of the Comité d'Action of the

### Thousands March Against Viet War

by Jim Whitton

Successful demonstrations against S. aggression in Vietnam and Can-dian government complicity in the ar were held in all the major cit-

a across Canada on Oct. 26.
Biggest rally was in Toronto, here a massive mobilization of poto power without precedent in the his history confronted the 2,500 i 3,000 people who marched in the am Mobilization Committee enstration. Despite police harnent, the march maintained it-

age waved on all parts of the demonstration. Huge signs on the League for Socialist Action float demanded: "Get out of the imperialist war pacts — NATO NORAD" and "Out with the Lib-Tory war parties vote NDP."

The march The march organizers went through an arduous legal procedure in an attempt to get a permit to march down Yonge St., Toronto's major artery. An alternative route down empty streets was turned down by the VMC. After the police com-



along College St. A moment later, they moved in and forced marchers off the street. Several hundred more cops waited in background.

Vietnam. te two, three, many Vietnams. YS's red flags with Che's im-

POLICE INTIMIDATION. Solid phalanx of horses and cops harred the route to Toronto Vietnam marchers as they proceeded legally



LEADER ARRESTED. Joe Young, secretary of Vietization Committee, was arrested while leading Toronto on. Note that cops have removed identification badges, d be above left breast pocket.

## i-War Marchers



TOM BERGER, NDP MLA addresses anti-war rally in Vancouver.

#### Where Do the Candidates Stand?

## The NDP Leadership

by John Riddell

Ontario leader Donald MacDonald calls on the NDP to "take a more radical stance" and reminds us that the party needs a "vigorous left wing." John Harney says there is a changing mood in the party and "the mood is radical." Grant Notley of Alberta proclaims "the left is where the action is!" Laurier Lapierre says too many of the party's policies are "irrelevant, obsolete. . Our party will have to change." And Ontario leadership challenger James Renwick commits himself to work out a program to bring socialism to Ontario.

From men who, as leaders of the party, have become well-known as advocates of its right-wing course and bitter opponents of the socialist left, these are fighting words. What lies behind this welcome agreement on the need for the party to make some kind of left turn?

Leadership contests are in progress in Ontario, Alberta and Manitoba and already in preparation in Quebec and in the federal party. Perhaps we should not be surprised by demagogic appeals of leadership aspirants for left support. Yet as discussion has begun to open up in the party it is clear that leadership candidates are striving to meet what Stephen Lewis calls "a restless unease which has not and cannot be appeased by earnest re-assurances alone."

Seven years after its foundation, the New Democratic Party has proven its potential as the firmly established party of Canadian working people. Yet in years of sustained crisis of the old parties, of growing social discontent, the NDP's leadership has failed to bring it beyond the peak of strength of its predecessor, the CCF. It is no wonder that the party leaders now sense a growing frustration and impatience in the party ranks. There is a broad sentiment that the party has failed to demark itself clearly, in its program and electoral campaigns, from the old-line capitalist parties.

Stephen Lewis expressed the hopes of many when he called the Ontario leadership contest a "rare opportunity to generate systematic party debate. . . ," a stimulus to "a sense of internal movement, questioning, criticism." Yet far from offering incisive criticism or clear alternatives, the leadership candidates have hardly risen above the level of platitude and meaningless generality.

The statement of the Socialist Caucus now being circulated in the Ontario NDP certainly expresses the frustration of many party activists in pointing out the obligation of the candidates to present clear programmatic alternatives. "We ask the lead-dership candidates: what policies will you pursue, if you are elected at our convention . . . Mr. Renwick and Mr. MacDonald, where do you stand?"

The most significant issue to come up in the discussion so far is the NDP's character as a labor party. Renwick, while claiming to-present a radical alternative, rejects any notion that the NDP is, or should become, a labor party. Talking of the party's "wide base of support" he even advanced the idea that an NDP government would be prepared to intervene in labor disputes against the will of the Ontario Federation of Labor. This position has been hailed by Dennis Braithwaite in the Toronto Telegram as a radical stance - rejecting the opportunism and outworn dogma of the past for a posture of principles.

Val Scott, himself a candidate for Ontario NDP president, correctly condemned Renwick's position as implying that an NDP government, rather than representing the interests of the labor movement, would be merely a "more honest broker than the Liberals and Conservatives." Many prominent NDPers, including Scott and Douglas Fisher, now tip their hat to the NDP's character as a labor party, by projecting the need for the party to concentrate on winning the votes of workers.

But they have never challenged the NDP's program, and it is a program which projects no more than perfecting the operation of the capitalist system, reomving its worst excesses of injustice.

The NDP needs far more than a change in leadership personalities, style, image or electoral strategy. The party needs a new program, which will truly answer the deeplyfelt grievances of workers arising from their ceaseless struggle against capital.

James Renwick posed the question dramatically. The NDP has no program by which it could govern Ontario, he said. For example, suppose that the banking interests denied an NDP government funds and credit necessary to finance its program of reforms. The NDP, he said, has never tonsidered how the

money would be raised.

Quite true! In fact the NDP lead ership is no more prepared than was the Wilson government of Britain to resist the great pressure and blackmail that big business would bring to bear to block any program of serious reform. As if in recognistion of this, the party program proposes no measures that would seriously challenge the power of big business.

The solution to Renwick's problem is not hard to conceive. There is no lack of wealth in Ontario, with wealth concentrated in the hands of a few individuals that, if rationally applied by society, could end poverty and remake the society in a very short time. It follows that the NDP's program must aim at grasping control of the economic levers of power by nationalizing the banks, the great industrial monopolies, and taxing away the bloated private fortunes.

Yet Renwick offers nothing more than the tentative suggestion that government programs might be paid for by selling bonds to the citizens of Ontario — thus presumably once again laying the cost of government programs on the backs of those least able to pay. Then, excusing himself with reference to the complexity of these and similar problems, he promises that, as leader, he would try to find some answers.

Many in the NDP leadership would join Renwick, at least in private, in identifying "socialism" as the party's long-range goal. Yet none of the party spokesmen participating in the present discussion have yet made any proposals that would help to realize socialism as the living principle of the party's program.

For them socialism may be a worthy but generally irrelevant moral ideal, or a cuphemism for warmed-over capitalism of the Swedish variety. NDPers who see the building of a socialist world as the immediate and urgent task of out time, must intervene in the present leadership discussion to pose the necessity for a socialist program, and a leadership committed to implement it.

## Alta. Leaders are Evading the Issues

If it wasn't for the existence of a number of brochures with the faces and facts about the two candidates for leader of the Alberta NDP, it would be difficult to know that a convention of the party is about to take place on Nov. 8-10 in Calgary. The convention itself has been billed from the start as a "leadership" convention, and under this pretext a meaningful discussion on the policy and direction of the NDP has been pushed aside.

With the withdrawal from the contest of Norman Dolman, who felt he was getting no active support for his program of a "new" image for the party by appealing to the "heart" instead of the "mind," one might hope the two remaining candidates would build their campaigns by appealing to the mind. However the candidates left in the race, Gordon Wright and Grant Notley, have offered little but "image" to the NDP membership and neither has managed to show he is a significant alternative to the other.

Notley's main platform is based on the improvement of the party machinery with regard to election activity and shows no concern for the revitalization of the party at the riding association level, where there is presently little or no activity to involve the membership.

Wright, a lesser known figure than Notley, has been receiving support from some elements of the party including some youth as a candidate who will improve the party's internal democracy and help to reactivate it, but so far he has not brought forward a program to back up this suggestion and thus has not been able to serve as a candidate around whom the left elements of the party can seriously begin organizing.

It is vital that the Alberta NDP recognize that this kind of programless hoopla in the tradition of the Liberals and Tories has no place in the building and bringing to power of the NDP as the party of labor in Canada. The convention must begin the kind of questioning and re-



evaluation of the existing program of the NDP that is occurring across the rest of the country.

Jim Renwick's campaign to win the leadership of the Ontario NDP from Donald MacDonald didn't win much support at the OYND conference at Couchiching. The young delegates were not very impressed when Renwick told them he had decided to run for the leadership at this time, because it will take "two years to evolve a policy."

No doubt thinking of the mass school occupation movement taking place in Quebec while he spoke, Renwick told the audience, many of them student radicals, that any attempts to seize university buildings in support of their demands would be "totally unacceptable."

A meeting of Toronto-area riding delegates on Oct. 27 voted by a narrow margin to reverse proposals by the labor and provincial NDP leaderships to change the Toronto Area NDP Council into a machine-like structure limited to riding presidents, labor leaders and research committees. The meeting voted to replace the riding presidents with elected delegates and to have annual delegated conventions with labor participation.

Delegates favoring this motion pointed to the need to retain and encourage greater grass roots participation and democracy. They noted that the failure of the Toronto Area Council and the Labor Council to produce an NDP or labor majority in city council did not lie in the structure of the old TAC but rather in the determination on the part of the provincial party leadership to run municipal candidates on the program and label of the NDP.

- by Anne Macdonald



STUDENT STRIKE. Thousands of students march Oct. 21 along rue Ste-Catherine in Montreal, head ing for rally at Université de Montréal.

# **Quebec Student Strike: Lessons and Prospects**

by Walter Blumenthal

Ministers do nothing.
Rectors do nothing.
Authorities do nothing.
The last chance
is
us us us us

MONTREAL, Oct. 27 — The poem above, written by a student at the height of the occupation strike wave that shook Québec for over two weeks, expresses in words the revolutionary concept of autogestion — management of the schools by students themselves — which thousands of students here are coming to see as the only way to run an educational system in the interests of those who are being educated.

This is the most important of the conclusions being drawn by participants in what developed into the biggest student revolt in North American history.

At the height of the revolt, 13 of the province's 23 CEGEPs (Collèges d'Enseignement Général et Professionnel — junior colleges) and 17 of the province's post-secondary institutions were occupied by students. A total of 22 of 28 post-secondary schools were paralysed by study-sessions or occupations, and at least six high schools in the Montreal area were the scene of protests, and in some instances, occupations. It is estimated that 50,000 students were at one time or another on

Although for many students this was their first experience in a protest movement, they nonetheless undertook the vast political task of challenging the capitalist government in Québec City; from the outset, student militants made it clear that the

strike or occupying their school.

fight was not against individual administrations, but against the government that has installed the administrators, against a government which was responsible for the chaotic state of education in Québec. In doing so, the students opened up a freewheeling discussion, in most of Québec's schools, of more general social questions, and paved the way for a widespread challenge to existing social and political structures.

But if the ranks of the student movement were drawing radical conclusions from the struggle, their union leadership was proving itself utterly passive and incompetent. UGEQ leaders consistently failed to respond to the massive pressure exerted by student activists. As the movement spread in its initial stages they refused to call for a general occupation strike, arguing that they represented "nothing," and could not "impose" policies upon the ranks. Although the movement was launched with the occupation of CEGEP Lionel Groulx on Oct. 8 it was not

(See page 2)



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## Movement Spreads To Ottawa University

by Suzanne Boivin

(The author is a student at the Université d'Ottawa, and a member of the Ottawa Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.)

The Quebec student power movement has spilled over into Ontario, into the Université d'Ottawa. The 600-student Faculty of Social Sciences was closed down for three days Oct. 18-19 by student "study sessions."

Student unrest stems from thoroughly inadequate facilities at the university, which is supposed to be bilingual, although in a number of courses, notably medicine, instruction is entirely in English.

The study sessions were called by a general assembly of students in the faculty, and proceeded with the grudging consent of the administration. One professor attempting to ignore the action found his classroom invaded by shouting students—he gave up after ten minutes.

Workshops Wednesday and Thursday produced a series of resolutions on student representation, teaching methods, space utilization, bilingualism, and the university and society. These were then discussed by plenary sessions of students and professors — the administration was excluded. The resolutions ranged from a demand for equal student-faculty-administration representation on all governing bodies to a demand that one of the campus' three chapels be converted into a library.

In the university and society resolution, the students recognized the need to link up with the working class, and that the problems of the university stem from the nature of capitalist society.

The action resolutions are now being taken to the administration by elected student negotiators. The administration has indicated it will make some concessions, but the mood of the students is such that they are unlikely to accept token gestures. In the event that student demands are not met, a general strike is being projected.

This action is particularly significant in that it involved Frenchspeaking students almost entirely. This is one of the first actions by French students outside of Quebec.



## **Que. School Occupation**

(Continued from page 1)

until Oct. 21 that they took up the demand for a mass demonstration to cut across the isolation of each CEGEP. At no time did they formulate a series of demands, to say nothing of a program; instead they preached "solidarity."

Faced with a backward leadership in key positions in the student union, the movement tended to waver, and was on the wane when the Oct. 21 march was called. Nevertheless 10,-000 students paraded through the streets of Montreal in a militant defiance of the government's threat to force striking students to repeat their semester. The movement had succeeded in winning the support of several labor bodies, including the massive teachers union (CEQ), the CEGEP professors union, part of the University of Montreal teaching staff, and the Central Council of the CNTU. The provincial council of the Québec NDP expressed its complete support of the student action, and took up the main student demands. There were, in addition, supporting actions at the major English-speaking campuses in Montreal.

Today most of Québec's educational institutions are outwardly calm. But closer examination shows that the hot wind of revolution has left its mark on the drab walls and long corridors: the posters, banners, flags and leaflets won't soon be forgotten.

There are other changes, too; less flamboyant, perhaps, but more important to the future of the student power movement in Québec. For in dozens of schools, colleges and universities, a new student vanguard is forming, defining itself, and looking for an analysis of the temporary defeat of the student movement.

Many of them have understood and bypassed the UGEO leadership, by forming comités d'action (action committees) as militant opposition action groups in the student union. The comités d'action will now be faced with the vital question of defending student militants against administration reprisals. And the comités d'action will continue the process of definition and analysis.

One important development in the Québec student movement has been the dramatic growth of the influence and prestige of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. Through the pages of Jeune Garde and through leaflets and direct participation the LJS has succeeded in reaching the student vanguard with a socialist analysis of society and a revolutionary program. New LJS groups have been formed in high schools, CEGEPS, and universities in the Montreal area. Two thousand copies of the special issue of Jeune Garde were gone in two

Jeune Garde was the only publication putting forward the demand for a generalized occupation strike across the province to support the students' demands for a second

French university, free education, and an adequate living wage for students. The necessary funds, it argued, should be raised by taxing the banks, the monopolies and the church.

Today, there is only one institution still occupied in Quebec. The red flag still flies over Ecole des Beaux Arts (School of Fine Arts). And inside, the students have instituted a full system of autogestion: students are giving courses and running the print and poster shops, and they intend to continue until the government recognizes them as the rightful authority in the school.

Beaux Arts is one of three schools to experience full autogestion. And, like the banners and posters, the students will never forget that experience. They will never forget the taste of Student Power.

## Socialist Student is By - Election Candidate

MONTREAL - A socialist student will be running against Quebec's minister of education, Jean-Guy Cardinal, in the by-election to be held Dec. 4 in Bagot riding, south-east of Montreal.

Michel Mill, a leader of the student occupations and study sessions at the Université de Montréal and a leading member of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, will contest the by-election as the candidate of the LJS and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

The LJS and LSO have decided to present Mill as their candidate because it is now clear that neither the Quebec New Democratic Party nor the trade unions intend to oppose the election of Cardinal.

Mill is a member of the executive of the Comité d'Action of the Faculty of Science at the U de M. The 24-year-old student, who is challenging Cardinal, the old millionaire, and the Union Nationale government, will give voice to the demands raised by the massive student revolt of October. His campaign, which will center on the intolerable situation in the Quebec educational system, will popularize the demand "Pour un Gouvernement des Travailleurs et des Cultivateurs" (For a Government of Workers and Poor Farmers).

Arthur Young, president of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action, will be Mill's campaign manager.

## Socialist Student's Election Bid Stirring Wide Interest in Quebec

## VANGUARD To Debate

Vol. 13, No. 6 (162) November 18, 1968

## Labor to Defy B.C. Tribunal

VANCOUVER — The 1968 convention of the B.C. Federation of Labor met in the first week of November — only a month before B.C.'s notorious Bill 33 compulsory arbitration law becomes fully operative. The grim prospect of having to live with Bill 33 predictably dominated the sessions of the convention.

The growing awareness that bbor's struggle against anti-labor laws is a political struggle and that laws is a pointrial strugge and main only an NDP government can wipe anti-labor laws off the books, brought delegates to give over-whelming support for the Political Education Committee recommendation that the federal structure is a support for the province that the federal structure is a support for the province that the federal structure is the province that the federal structure is the province that the federal structure is the province that the province tion that the federation "give high-er priority to political action in

support of the NDP..."
While the leadership of the BCFL has conducted only a "muke-the-record" campaign against Bill 33, there is still tremendous pressure from local unions for a full scale campaign to defeat compulsory arbitration and to defend any unions which are victimized "by any means necessary." means necessary.

convention pled a resolution on the Bill 33 liation Commission "that all Mediation Commission "that all unions refuse to comply with the Commission's request . . for copies of their collective agreements, ratifications, etc." In October, the commission sent letters to all B.C. unions requesting such information. Mediation The request met with almost unan

(See page 3)



FACTORY OCCUPIED. Striking workers armed with rifles and shotguns occupied Domtar, Ltd. paper mill at Windsor, Quebec, on Nov. 4. Company had broken off negotiations the day before. Workers took over the plant, expelling security guards, to protest company's threats to close down the mills. They stood armed guard in shifts of 50 against company threat to send armed police into plant. Local police did not intervene — the mayor is a striker, too.

Mill Seeks Opponent

NOVEMBER 12 paign behind the candidature of Michel Mill in the Dec. 4 by-elec-tion in Quebec's Bagot riding is now moving into high gear. Already Mill has spoken to numerous stu-dent groups, and has received ex-

tensive newspaper coverage.

Michel Mill, a leader of the student occupations and study sessions at the Université de Montréal during the massive student strike that shook Quebec last month, is challenging. Quebec's edited in the student strike that shook Quebec last month, is challenging. lenging Quehec's education minister Jean-Guy Cardinal. His campaign is sponsored by the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

Mill has challenged Cardinal to a public debate in the riding. So far there has been no reply.

A team of election workers for the socialist candidate has already been active in the riding, which is located about an hour's drive southeast of Montreal. They have col-lected the required number of sig-natures for nomination. Sympathizers in a number of towns in the area have expressed their desire to participate in the campaign. A campaign worker writes:

paign worker writes:
"The response in Bagot county has been surprising. Yesterday in the small village of St-Pie — the home town of the late Tremier home town of the late remier Daniel Johnson, who held this seat in the legislature—we met a young independentist in the first house we tried. He gave us the name of another who directed us to the local café where several young people who describe themselves as socialhang out. Later ists hang out. Later . . we at-tended a meeting of René Lé-vesque's Parti Québécois in St-Hyacinthe (which borders Bagot county) where we distributed our election program and sold 110 cop-ies of La Lutte Ouvrière."

All four local newspapers have ven coverage to the LJS-LSO campaign.

In Montreal the campaign has atin Montreat the campaign has at-tracted wide interest. Five of the city's six daily papers as well as the national network of Radio Canada (CBC) have reported Mill's candida-ture and the biggest paper, La Presse, carried an extensive inter-view with Mill. He was interviewed on Changel 9 TV on the excession. on Channel 9 TV on the program Derrière le Volet on Nov. 5, Mill has also addréssed meetings

at the Université de Montréal and Collège Lionel Groulx, where the student strike and occupation movement originated. Supporter groups are being organized in several schools in the Montreal area.

About 70 people attended a camting last Friday night in (See page 4)



MICHEL MILL. The 24-year-old socialist candidate is a student at the Université de Montréal and an executive of the Comité d'Action in the faculty of science. A leading member of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, Mill is also a member of the Central Committee of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. He was formerly editor of La Lutte Ouvrière and Montreal organizer of the LSO.

## Our Program

Following is a translation of excerpts from an election leaflet being distributed by the Lique des Jeunes Socialistes in the Bagot cam-paign. A printed brochure containing a more elaborate program is now on the presses,

#### Universal Accessibility Self-Management (Autogestion) in the Schools

The only way to democratize post-secondary education is to establish free education at all levels. The children of workers and farmers can go to school only if they have the financial means; as a trainee, the student should receive a wage sufficient to live on, without either himself or his parents going into debt. Moreover, the taxpayers should not have to bear the burden of the modernization of education required by the big corporations. Tax the corporations, not the students or workers.

(During the occupations of the schools) the students reduced the prices of meals, kept the schools clean, etc., through their own marshalls and committees for upkeep and provisions. The schools must be controlled by those who work in them — the students and

#### Against the Foreign Control of Quebec - For a Really Free Quebec

While the government continues to donate fortunes to the English school system, we don't have sufficient facilities in the French universities. We need the University of Quebec, the second French universities. versity. We must put an end to the hypocrisy of the Liberals and union Nationale about the "vested rights" of the English. For a (French) unilingual school system in Quebec, essential for the survival of the Quebec nation.

We must end the situation where the foreman, the timekeeper, and the manager speaks English, where you must speak English to have a decent job. French must be made the language of work. We need a Quebec which is really ours: the schools to the students, the factories to the workers.

#### For a Workers and Farmers Government in Quebec City

Confronted with a boss government, legal injunctions, and the antilabor laws promulgated by Liberal and Union Nationale governments, the trade union struggle must become a political struggle. Confronted

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"We need our own political party, a workers party that will represent the needs and wants of the workers, farmers and students. The Quebec Federation of Labour, the Confederation of National Trade Unions, the Catholic Fearmers Union and IUCFQ the students' union. Unions, the Catholic Farmers Union and UGEQ, the students' union, must all enter the political arena. We need a workers and farmers government, a government of the vast majority of Québécois.

In Bagot, a riding where the average per capita income is \$863,

Better a Young Socialist than an old Millionaire

### Radical Program for the NDP

The leadership contest in the On-The leadership contest in the On-tario NDP has presented the mem-bership with a golden opportunity to re-evaluate the party's answers to the mounting problems confronting the working people of the province. But both incumbent Donald Mac-Donald and challenger Jim Ren-wick have followed the big business party pattern of turning the contest into a meaningless personality clash. It has been left to the very modest forces assembled around the Socialist Caucus to present the dele-gales to this month's convention in Kitchener with a socialist program apable of responding to the "radicials agree is infiltrating the ranks.
Party office-seekers may talk about "confrontation politics" — but only - but only the Caucus advances a program of meaningful confrontation with the capitalist rulers of this country.

The Caucus, an unofficial group NDP members who seek to win the party to a socialist program, has prepared position papers on the key issues. These have been circulated assues. These have been circulated in the weeks before the convention; as models for resolutions to be passed in the constituency associations. All of them have been incorporated in resolutions going to the convention. Many, however,

official agenda allots only four and a half hours of the three-day con-vention to policy discussion.

The position papers deal with labor, youth, housing, nationaliza-tion, party activities, women's role, and Vietnam. Following are some hishlighte. highlights.

Labor

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VOTE FOR MICHEL MILL, candidate for the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

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## A Radical Program for the NDP

by Anne Macdonald

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Kitchener with a socialist program

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(See page 4)

## ... Socialist Caucus Program

(Continued from page 1)

litical arm of organized labor, we think the NDP is the labor party.

Much more to the point is the Socialist Caucus' demand that the party unconditionally and actively campaign for the independence of the trade unions against all state interference, be it in the form of injunctions, wage "guidelines," or compulsory arbitration. It calls on the party to identify with the militants' demands that inflation be countered by a cost of living clause, and that an "increase in productivity must benefit workers through a corresponding reduction in working hours."

#### Housing

MacDonald repeats the present program, which does not go much beyond advocating subsidies from the public treasury to land speculators, developers and landlords. Renwick says this is "inadequate"—but doesn't say why. The Caucus

correctly poses the only solution to the housing crisis, with its demand for massive public housing on publicly owned land, to be put under tenants' control.

#### Women

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women found that "female poverty" was the great "puzzler" confronting them from coast to coast. Clearly only the NDP can explain and solve this "puzzler."

The NDP's brief to the Commission blames "attitudes" for the problem. The Caucus points to the profit-oriented system as the source of those attitudes. Socialists, it says, should demand a wage for full-time housewives, woman's full right to birth control including abortions, in addition to the NDP's present demands for child care centers, equal job opportunities, vocational retraining and a tax credit for full time housewives. The Caucus paper also supports recent demands in *The New Democrat* that the NDP elimi-

nate all discrimination within its own ranks by encouraging women "to run as candidates in ridings where the NDP has a good chance of winning. More women are needed in the leading positions of the Party."

#### Youth

The student power movement sweeping through the schools and colleges is creating whole strata of radicalized youth who should be attracted to the NDP. Yet, with rare exceptions, the party has done nothing to take up their demands and win the student rebels to its ranks. Jim Renwick even goes out of his way to tell the students to cool their struggle.

The socialist Caucus calls on the party to popularize the demand for free education at all levels, and urges support for the federal New Democratic Youth demands for student-faculty control of schools and campuses as well as adequate living allowances for students.

# The Case for Nationalization

by Helen Mack

"Whither the NDP?" asks Stephen Lewis. "The mood is radical," notes John Harney. But the Ontario leadership contest, far from heightening the debate on policy within the party, is crushing in its banality. The obligation to translate the "mood" into clear programmatic alternatives has been assiduously avoided by the candidates. The mantle of "radicalism" donned with such determination in the first flush of the campaign has slipped — revealing that in terms of policy the kings are naked

The courtiers too, though expressing with varying degrees of eloquence the most telling criticisms of the party, offer little more than dazzling ambiguity on the program which would equip the party to meet the social and economic problems before the working people of

this country.

This ambiguity is most clearly expressed by party "theorists" engaged in outlining an economic policy for the NDP. All the arguments put forward for establishing a Canadian Capital Resources Fund -"control of the economy," "redistribution of power as well as wealth," etc., are powerful arguments for nationalization of the basic sectors of the economy. There is not even a hint, however, that the root cause of our economic ills stems from the fact that the entire productive capacity of this country, governing the conditions of life for millions of Canadians, is the private, profit-motivated preserve of the wealthy few.

In the light of this reality, how puny are the "sophisticated tools" of economic control with which the party leaders propose to tame the corporate giants, both foreign and domestic. "No need," say they, for any "quaint reliance, on nationalization;" "the question of ownership per se is irrelevant;" "there is only one source of power which controls all others — the sovereign power of political government"!

The answer then is simple; an

NDP government elected to power can do as it will with the economy. However the proposed establishment of "tough codes of economic conduct" is hardly likely to cause a flutter of alarm in the breasts of the captains of industry!

It is ironic that the experience of the British Labor government is used as an example which proves the case against nationalization when in fact it does the contrary. The Labor government, to its shame, chose to abandon socialist goals in favor of making capital-ism work more efficiently. The nationalization of mines, transport and electricity took place within that context, and was in fact a shot in the arm for the private sectors. It is impossible to sustain the view that the dumping of nationalization for more "sophisticated tools" (they used these terms, too) accomplished the stated aims — namely "eco-nomic expansion," "Fair Shares," security and equality - as any British worker fighting against the present discriminatory incomes policy will testify.

Another argument against nationalization, perhaps the one most commonly expressed by NDP spokesmen, is that it could not win public support, and would therefore lose votes for the party. Hardly a principled argument but just to answer the point, the absence of proposals for nationalization did not win votes either! More important is the question of winning support. The fact is that few Canadians would want to turn over existing public corporations such as Air Canada, the CBC, the Post Office or Ontario Hydro to private investment. The few who do (and their ranks reportedly include high-ranking officials of the present Liberal government) base their case for denationalization on the success of those operations.

The need for public ownership of the basic sectors of the economy is glaringly obvious to those seeking a socialist solution to the economic anarchy of capitalism. It is a vital prerequisite for the whole idea of economic planning. And it contains within it the hope of a democratization of our society, a means by which workers will have a say in the decisions affecting their daily lives.

What is lacking in the NDP is not evidence of the need but clarity on the goal of transforming society, and the means by which it can be done. The job of the NDP is to make the case! For example the NDP has made, a damning indictment of the drug industry in Canada. It has stressed the need to protect a vulnerable public not only from inadequate testing and sale of drugs, but from the scandalously inflated prices of the profit-bloated pharmaceutical corporations. The case for public ownership of the drug industry was effectively made—but what was lacking was the demand!

Similarly, the NDP has conceded in theory (though not in policy) the validity of the nationalization of all forms of transport. Why then has the case not been made for nationalization of the CPR, the biggest privately-owned corporation in Canada? The CPR octopus, which the Canadian government enriched with millions of dollars in cash and prime acres of prairie land for the purpose of "opening up the West" is now in the process of closing the West by withdrawing essential services which it deems "unprofitable"! The demand to nationalize the CPR and integrate its services with the CNR must be made. The history of this railroad, the price it exacted from thousands of Canadian workers and farmers in terms of their blood and sweat not to mention the profits squeezed from the sale of land, should be put before the Canadian people.

What of the vast oil and natural gas resources, the copper and potash mines of the West which are left to private speculation? How to bring industry to the Canadian north which has been left to rot? How to lift the Maritimes out of

economic strangulation?

In Ontario, the NDP has exposed many times over the exploitation of our resources by the handful of magnates who control the mines and pipelines of the north. What possible justification could there be to leave these and other important provincial industries in the irresponsible hands of private business?

The answer to these important questions must go much further than a more radical-sounding version of the Liberals' Canadian Development Corporation. The formulation of an alternative program based on public ownership — this is the challenge facing the NDP. This is the only "radical" — that is, root — solution.

No Alternative for Labor

## COPE: The Big Illusion

by John Connolly

VANCOUVER - With the NDP failure to field a slate of candidates in the upcoming Dec. 11 Vancouver municipal elections, a new civic "party" has come forth. The Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE), recently formed with the backing of the Vancouver Labor Council and supported by two prominent union locals, IWA Local 217 and Local 12 of the Canadian Union of Letter Carriers, is posing as the popular alternative to the big business fronts TEAM and NPA as "a coalition of peoples' organizations seeking genuine reform at City Hall."

Despite COPE's claim to be the working man's alternative to the boss parties, it is not in any way a genuine class alternative. While individual candidates of COPE may be from the labor movement, COPE is nothing more than a rehash of the old illusion that labor can gain a "voice" in the Tory-Liberal controlled civic administrations through the good offices of "progressive" friends.

COPE was founded at an all-day conference called on Oct. 26, at the same time as the big anti-Vietnam war march was taking place. The 50 or so somewhat elderly persons in attendance adopted a program, but postponed decisions on candidates to a further meeting.

What about COPE's program?

The Pacific Tribune, west coast mouthpiece of the Communist party, which together with the Ald. Harry Rankin Election Committee is a leading publicist for COPE, has heralded it as a "sweeping reform program."

An examination of the program, however, shows that although many needed reforms are listed, not once is the key question of who should run City Hall mentioned. When labor is mentioned, it is in the context of "increased participation" in areas such as education. Although more public housing is called for, the COPE program does not launch an attack against the construction industry, corporate landlords and the real estate sharks by calling for massive public housing and the elimination of private enterprise in this area as the only solution to the housing crisis. Basic demands like an elected police commission and free public transportation are absent.

COPE does not even intend to field a full slate of candidates. TEAM does. Thus, instead of a genuine working class slate posing the question of a labor takeover at City Hall, the Vancouver Labor Council has criminally failed the working people of Vancouver by opting for a broad "coalition" of progressive individuals around a loose reform program which depends for success on the support of some reform-minded representative of TEAM at City Hall.

The labor fakers try to defend their betrayal with the claim that an NDP or labor slate would "narrow the base." Sounds strange, when the official opposition in B.C. is the NDP which polls close to 45 percent of the vote in Vancouver. If support for the NDP alone were mobilized, it would be enough for a working class alternative to take power in Vancouver.

The modest forces of the League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists showed the possibilities in the last election, when their candidate for mayor polled almost 7,000 votes or 7.4 percent of the total, running on a socialist platform without the support of the NDP.

Shouldn't we ask the leaders of the Vancouver Labor Council and their apologists: Whom do you intend to coalesce with in municipal government? The only people who run city council now are the representatives of business, which the labor movement with its resources and powerful organization has the power to remove.

Instead, on Dec. 11 Vancouver big business will once again have the opportunity to mask its control of City Hall through the presentation of another non-partisan slate of reformers. The Labor Council, in asking Vancouver citizens to mobilize around its own non-partisan slate of reformers has fallen into this well-used and discredited trap.

## Students, Unionists Launch Hamilton Socialist Forum

HAMILTON - The first of what will be regular forums for the discussion of key issues confronting workers and students in this city was held at the Labor Temple on Nov. 10.

It has been organized by the recently constituted Hamilton branch of the League for Socialist Action, Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, was the guest speaker. About 30 attended, most of them students, with a scattering of unionists from a couple of the big shopsin this center of heavy industry 40 miles west of Toronto.

The meeting was held shortly after the editors of the city's only daily launched an ignorant and vicious attack against the Russian revolutionary leader, Leon Trotsky, whose theoretical concepts have inspired the League and are attracting the attention of new revolutionary forces across the globe.

Dowson made this forum an occasion for introducing the general view and orientation of the League for Socialist Action to his Hamilton

audience.

He stated that the LSA members through their activities are developing cadre who aim on the basis of their Marxist theory, which is rooted in the experiences of the world working class, to give socialist leadership and direction to the struggles of the Canadian working class.

He said the League members intend to integrate themselves in the ranks of the working class in Hamilton as elsewhere across the country, particularly in the trade unions and in the NDP. The League seeks the collaboration and help of those who agree with any aspect of its views and seeks the adherence of those who accepts its basic program.

The chairman announced that the next forum would feature Gary Porter, executive secretary of the YS/LJS on The Quebec Student Struggle and the LSO-LJS election campaign in Bagot.

### Van. Banquet

VANCOUVER - Over 100 guests turned out to the banquet of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists in commemoration of the 51st anniversary of the Russian Revolution, held November 9. Guest speaker Peter Camejo, leader of the Berkeley student battle of the barricades and the Moses Hall occupation, spoke on the outcome of the U.S. elections and the current wave of student radicalization in the United States.

Earlier that day, Peter Camejo was a feature speaker at a Western Canadian Student Power Conference held at the University of British Columbia.

# VANGUARD

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COPS INVADE CAMPUS. Students show V for Victory sign as RCMP officers herd them into paddy wagon on Simon Fraser campus. 114 were arrested for occupying administration offices to back up protest against discriminatory university entrance requirements.

## Cops Smash SFU Sit-in; 114 Students Arrested

by Ken Hiebert and Dave Hemingway

The following article is written by two of the arrested students. They are members of the Young Social-

VANCOUVER — At 2:30 a.m. Nov. 23, over 200 RCMP officers invaded the Simon Fraser University campus and arrested 114 young people occupying the university administration building. All 114 have been charged with wilful obstruction of the use of private property, which carries a maximum sentence of five years.

The occupation grew out of a campaign around four demands. Students from SFU, the University of B.C., and Vancouver City College were demanding: (1) free transfer to Simon Fraser from B.C. regional colleges and Grade 13. SFU was denying credit for university level courses taken at other institutions and some students were losing up to a year; (2) a parity student-faculty board to oversee admissions; (3) the opening of admissions files to this committee. There was evidence that Americans suspected of being draft resisters were being excluded; (4) more money for B.C. education, an end

to the school construction freeze.

The current crisis arose following

a series of rallies and pickets, when the SFU senate called an emergency meeting on the evening of Nov. 20 to consider the students' demands. Three hundred students crowded in to observe. Three senators argued in favor of the demands, none against. The vote was 32-3 against.

After this model of a reasonable, democratic discussion the students moved to the administration building and after a discussion decided to stay. The non-student press was expelled, the doors chained and barricaded, and internal organization began. Committees were set up to work on security, food, organizing support on the campuses and in the high schools and organizing in the whole community.

Throughout the occupation, attempts were made to negotiate with the administration, but Kenneth Strand, SFU president, rejected them. A rally of 600 students Thursday voted support for the demands and the occupation. This disappointed Rob Walsh, student council president, who had hoped to mobilize opposition to the occupation.

The cops came early Saturday morning, well prepared. The first

### STATEMENT BY MICHEL MILL

While the repression in the schools deepens here in Québec, we have just received the news of the barbarous arrest and indictment of the Simon Fraser students. The language changes, the names of the ministers of education and the police chiefs charge, but the struggle is the same.

The student movement of Quebec is engaged in a battle against the bourgeois university on all levels, including my candidacy is a Young Socialist against Cardinal. The struggle at Simon Fraser is only another aspect of our struggle, one which can only inspire students everywhere. We extend our complete solidarity to those arrested, who are setting us an example we will take up.

Vive les étudiants de Simon Fraser. Nous vaincrons.

Michel Mill LJS-LSO Candidate in Bagot

contingent was unarmed. They told us that if we didn't get out in half an hour we would be arrested. A few people, some with shaky immigration status in Canada, left. The majority stayed and refused to leave until arrested. We learned later that a second contingent of cops was standing by with clubs and Mace. In response to the arrests, the

whole campus including the rather conservative student council is moving to support those arrested. As we write, thirty hours after getting out on bail, a massive defense campaign, reaching out into the community, is being organized.

The crisis at SFU clearly shows the failure of the government's "ed-

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## ...Simon Fraser

(Continued from page 1)

ucational system." Students are getting screwed and they know it. The reaction of the administration to rational demands has proved to many that militant action is the only way to win any concessions. It is clear that the government is not interested in providing an adequate education for the people of B.C.

Many trade unions, the NDP, the B.C. Civil Liberties Association and other community organizations are supporting the students because they realize that many young people are being excluded from the universities for political and financial reasons.

The authorities think that they can break the student movement by these mass arrests. They're dead wrong. The problems with the universities remain; the awareness of these problems is growing, and the confrontations will continue. SEU is just the beginning.

## Students Boycott Classes At University of Ottawa

by George Addison

OTTAWA, Nov. 21 — Social science students at the Université d'Ottawa occupied their faculty building two days ago. About 400 are continuing the occupation with broad sympathy developing in the other faculties.

Students at several colleges and high schools in Quebec have also voted to re-occupy their faculties to protest the repression being levelled against them and particularly their leaders by the administrations. The administrations are, of course, encouraged and backed by the government. In some places, the occupiers have been forcibly removed by the police.

The Ottawa students voted by 76 percent to occupy the temple-like administration building in down-

>p.2

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town Ottawa after the administration refused to accept their demand for equal representation of students and faculty on departmental committees. Students had been negotiating with the authorities for six weeks, since the five-day strike in October.

A complete boycott of classes is now in effect. No one is allowed to enter the faculty except full-time students attending study sessions and professors who sign a petition declaring their support of student demands. Committees have been set up to co-ordinate and organize the occupation.

The Carleton University Young Socialists today organized a meeting in solidarity with the U of O students. About 200 Carleton students attended to hear three representatives of the U of O students describe their struggle.

Underlying the student power struggle at U of O is the oppression of French speaking people in English Canada. The U of O students look to the struggles in Quebec for leadership and inspiration. The university is formally bilingual, but this means in practise, that French-speaking students must study in English. One faculty (medicine) is entirely English. Science and Engineering students must study from English texts. Even the arts and Social Science students have to use much English research material in essays and papers.

The demand for a unilingual French university in Ontario is evolving as a popular slogan in this struggle. And a growing number of students are looking to the revolutionary socialist student movement, the YS/LJS, for the answers to their problems and a program for their continuing struggle.

# Socialist Students Call Rally

Canada's first Socialist Students Conference will be held at the University of Toronto December 27-29.

Called by the Young Socialists, the conference will focus on the vital questions confronting student socialists. Students from coast to coast will discuss the aims of the student power movement, how to defend the Vietnamese revolution, the lessons of student struggles around the world and the role of students in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

Highlights will include a panel discussion by top student figures such as Peter Warrian, president of the Canadian Union of Students; a panel of Quebec student leaders featuring Michel Mill, the Université de Montréal student activist who is now challenging the education minister in a by-election; a report by Peter Camejo, a leader of the Berkeley student movement; as well as films, workshops and good fun.

The conference is being widely publicized on campuses from coast to coast. A large attendance is anticipated.

For further information contact the Young Socialists at 32 Cecil St., Toronto 2B or the Young Socialist club on your campus or in your area.

## Socialists Campaign in Quebec

Michel Mill's campaign against Quebec Education Minister Cardinal in the Bagot by-election is forging ahead. Mill, a student activist at the Université de Montréal is the candidate of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

Here are some first-hand reports as related by his campaign workers.

We are making history with our campaign. Last Saturday about twenty campaign workers held the first street demonstrations in the history of Acton Vale and St-Pie. the main towns in the riding. Carrying two large banners, one with the name of the LJS and the other calling for a workers and farmers government in the name of the Jeunes Socialistes de l'Université de Montréal, and numerous picket signs for free education, unilingualism, etc., we spent several hours, distributing over a thousand campaign leaflets. The sole local police officer in Acton Vale didn't know what to do about us but in the end he cooperated fully. This weekend we will be holding the first socialist public

meeting ever held in the riding.

The only outright hostility we have run into so far in the campaign was from the chairman of the local school board. This venerable gentleman, Monsieur Meunier, threw us out of his drugstore screaming that "our" children are peaceful and "we" don't want any agitators stirring up trouble. Not all of "his" children are that peaceful, since several students from the riding, mostly partisans of Lévesque who are sick of his opportunism, are active in our campaign.

One of our socialist campaigners, a young worker from Montreal, ran into Cardinal himself while distributing leaflets in the Place du Marché of Acton Vale. At first, Alain didn't recognize the Minister of Education so he just patted him on the back and told him to vote for Mill. Cardinal then asked who was the millionaire mentioned in our slogan "Better a young socialist than an old millionaire" and was informed that he should know the answer to that. He didn't deny

it, but asked "Who is old — how old do you think I am?" To this Alain replied "Anyone with your ideas and program has got to be old!"

Our campaign workers don't only come from Montreal and Bagot. Last weekend three CEGEP students and a teacher from Thetford Mines came down for the campaign. Thetford Mines is a small asbestos mining town with a long tradition of bitter trade union struggles and clashes with Duplessis' police. Our press communiqués and program have been published in their school paper as well as being broadcasted on the local radio station. We will be setting up the Jeunes Socialistes de Thetford in the near future.

This campaign is really giving us a chance to get a picture of rural Québec with its rapid changes, its terribly low standard of living and its hangovers from the past. The chairman of the electoral commission for the county, Monsieur

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### CAMPAIGN

(Continued from page 1)

Gauthier is a classic example of the traditional 'village notable'. His office is in the back of the local Caisse Populaire of which he is the manager and where he lives upstairs in the miniature village (30 houses) of St-Théodore. He is the town mayor, clerk, commissioner of oaths and anything else you can imagine. He became chairman of the electoral commission after helping Daniel Johnson win the seat in 1945.

Although the electoral laws are unbelievably complicated, requiring the signatures of three lawyers on the nomination papers for example, we have had little trouble getting on the ballot. It would seem the government is interested in avoiding any confrontation and has given orders not to inferfere with us. It is a tradition here that on nomination day there be a debate between the candidates; this time the two bourgeois candidates didn't even show up but had their silent managers present the papers. The Liberal, a local car dealer, and Cardinal have both avoided any confrontation with us, but the local papers have continued to give us good coverage.



INTERVIEW WITH SOCIALIST CANDIDATE

## 'Why I'm Running

The following is an interview with Michel Mill, the student socialist candidate in the Dec. 4 Bagot by-election. Quebec Education Minister Jean-Guy Cardinal is the candidate for the Union Nationale. Mill was interviewed by John Riddell.

Vanguard: What made the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes decide to run you as a candidate in the Bagot by-election?

Michel Mill: There are two reasons why I'm running, and they're closely related. First, we feel that after the student uprising of October it is impossible for the student movement to allow Cardinal, the person primarily responsible for the educational fiasco, to get into parliment without any real opposition from the student movement. Second, and even more important, we must not allow the bourgeois merry-goround of Union Nationale and Liberal parties to continue unchallenged, offering no alternative to the working people of Quebec.

Neither of these parties have any answers to the triple crisis of Québec society — educational, national and social. They are nothing more than lackeys for the big corporations, mostly foreign, which totally dominate Quebec and which are responsible for the crisis.

Vanguard: What answers are you proposing to this "triple crisis"?

Michel Mill: We solidarize completely with the demands of the student movement for studentfaculty control of the schools, universal accessibility to education at all levels, and payment of a living wage to all students. We call for an emergency program of school construction, beginning with the promised University of Ouebec.

Until now the educational system has been an effective instrument in the hands of the English-speaking bourgeoisie and their French-Canadian servants for developing a semiskilled working class and a small élite of professionals to manage and apologize for the system. This subordination of Ouebec education, as indeed the whole of Quebec society, expressed in the well-known phrase: In Quebec, capital speaks English. We demand a policy of unilingualism by which French will be the sole official language of business, industry and education in Quebec. Moreover, we support the labor movement's demand for wage parity with Ontario and United States workers, an end to the system which maintains Quebec as a lowwage cesspool in the North American economy. This, too, is a basic factor in the national inequality of French-Canadians.

The only way to prevent the complete anglicization of Quebec, however, is by nationalizing the large foreign corporations and establishing a really free Quebec, one which will be owned and run by and in the interests of the French-speaking working people.

Thus it can be seen that the solution to the educational crisis, which flows from the national crisis, is linked to the necessity for socialist planning under a workers and farmers government. The big challenge facing the labor movement in Quebec today is to build a political instrument, a labor party, which can take power at Quebec City.

By running a candidate who is both a student and a socialist, we have concretized the concept of student-worker solidarity, a key demand of the student revolt last month. The needs and desires of the student movement as a whole and those of the working population are complementary and essentially they come to the same conclusion—the necessity of the socialist liberation of Quebec.

Vanguard: Bagot was former Premier Johnson's old riding how has it fared under his rule?

Michel Mill: Bagot is a scandalous example of the depth of oppression in Quebec. It is the third poorest county in the province, with a per capita income of \$842 after taxes. Although it is only 40 minutes from Montreal, it is an almost completely different world. There are pitifully few industries in and. around the riding; the entire eastern townships area is rapidly being denuded of its industry throwing entire towns and villages into unemployment. The occupied factories of Domtar in Windsor and East Angus are only fifteen miles outside of Bagot. You can understand the depth of the poverty from the fact that 80 percent of the adult population have less than eighth grade education. This extraordinary

oppression has a national character: of the 6,000 families in the riding, only 11 are English-speaking!

The young people of Bagot and their parents have a strong interest in universal accessibility to education. They also have a big stake in the establishment of a unilingual French-speaking school system which will prevent them becoming a totally inpoverished minority.

Vanguard. What has been the response to your campaign from the voters of Bagot?

Michel Mill: The response has been much better even than we hoped for. We have met no hostility in the riding, except from the local school board chairman who threw us out of his drugstore. We have succeeded in finding a group of young people from the riding itself who have participated very actively in the campaign. And from the population as a whole we are getting a hearing and provoking quite a bit of interest.

Vanguard: What is the reaction to your campaign from the students who a few weeks ago were occupying the schools?

Michel Mill: There's been a great deal of interest, particularly in the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. I've spoken to significant groups of students in many of the CEGEPs (junior colleges) where we have been able to organize both a group of campaign workers and a Jeunes Socialistes group. On the whole the campaign has proven extremely fruitful both from the point of view of educating and organizing the student movement and from the point of view of demonstrating how revolutionary socialists speak to a relatively backward working class.

Vanguard: What do you hope to achieve through this campaign?

Michel Mill: We do not expect to win - this time. And the size of the vote is not of primary importance. Any vote for myself will be significant as an extremely class conscious vote against those who are responsible for the oppression of Quebec. Of course a campaign like this one permits us to talk to and get a hearing from people we would never see in the course of our ordinary day-to-day educational and organizing work. A campaign of this nature allows us to mobilize the best elements of both the student movement and the riding of Bagot in a very concrete struggle. It is only one means among many. But at this stage in the politics of Quebec it is an extremely important and profitable one for revolutionary socialists.

Vanguard: And for the labor movement as a whole?

Michel Mill: The campaign can and should serve as an example of what the labor movement should be doing. If a small movement such as ours can so clearly pose the question, the real issues, and can mobilize the people that we've been able to mobilize — imagine what a labor party could do!



### Cross Country with the NDP:

## Priority to Public Ownership - Man. NDP

The Manitoba NDP adopted a far-reaching statement of principles at its recent leadership convention, which met in Winnipeg Nov. 1-3.

The resolution sums up the "social and economic objectives" which the 4,500 delegates — a record number — believed the party should be working toward. The text of the resolution is printed in *The Commonwealth* of Nov. 13.

The preamble indicts "the system under which we live, which is best described as corporate capitalism." "Economic development promoted through our present system,"

the statement says, "is an instrument for maintaining inequality of income. It can never be an instrument for bringing about a greater equality in the distribution of income."

The Manitoba statement concludes, therefore, that "the ultimate aim of the New Democratic Party is to replace corporate capitalism as the engine of economic development with a social democracy comprised largely of cooperatively and publicly-owned enterprises — as the only approach which will regain control of the economy into Canadian hands; will make possible a direct and participatory democracy within factories, offices, universities and other social institutions in which responsibility for economic and social welfare will be assumed by representatives democratically elected by the people affected; and will make possible a far more equal distribution of wealth opportunity; and will make possible the generation and predominance of a different set of values — emphasizing cooperation over competition and morality over materialism."

By giving priority to public ownership under workers control, this program of "ultimate" objectives represents a radical step forward from the "make-capitalism-work" panaceas of traditional NDP policy statements.

EDMONTON — The Alberta NDP convention held in Calgary Nov. 9-11 was dominated by the leadership contest. Only 2½ hours of the three days were alloted for open policy discussion.

Nevertheless, some significant resolutions were adopted. The convention voted to make the demand for the 30 hour week at 40 hours' pay the NDP's key plank to meet the challenge of automation. Another resolution from the panel on the individual and his community, although somewhat weakly worded, puts the onus on the NDP to encourage the candidature of NDPers in municipal elections. A resolution on "student power" was referred to a committee for further discussion: some concrete recommendations will be made to the next annual convention.

There was no clear principled choice open to the 300 delegates in their selection of provincial leader. This was reflected in the vote results, which saw 29 year old Grant Notley, former provincial secretary, elected with just seven votes more than the combined vote of his two opponents.

A New Democratic member of the B.C. legislature has challenged a logging company to open its books for public inspection.

Dave Barrett, MLA for Coguit-

lam, charges that the same interests who acquired vast tracts of valuable timberland in West Vancouver's Black and Strachan Mountains to build the Cypress Bowl recreation complex are in fact using the land for the highly profitable logging operations of Mountain Timbers Ltd. which they control. Vast areas have been stripped bald by the company, so that the bowl has already been ruined for year-round recreation, Barrett charges.

"The government traded away \$3 million worth of timber on Sayward Island to get Cypress Bowl as a park," he says. "Now it has been given to this group of promoters."

After two years of operations, there is still no sign of construction.

"I challenge the company to open its books to the public," says Barrett. "Then we'd see how much money they made."

Barrett's demand is a good one. It should be taken up by the NDP and directed also at all the giant profit-bloated corporations which are stripping away the natural resources of this country. Let's put an end to business secrets by opening their books and showing just who is responsible for the skyrocketing prices afflicting every working man and woman.

Some fundamental criticism of the NDP was recently expressed by party activist, Paul MacEwan in his regular column in the Nova Scotia weekly Cape Breton Highlander.

Writing in the Nov. 6 issue, on the eve of the provincial NDP leadership convention, MacEwan said the party "tends, broadly speaking, to be wishy-washy." Many people, he noted, "feel that the party is little different thaff the Liberals and Conservatives. . These people are judging the party primarily by the type of statements which its spokesmen make, and by the type of people that it is associated with — in other words, the party 'image.' And

in many ways they are correct.

"The CCF in 1933," MacEwan continues, "was a party which disdained to conceal its goal: the complete overthrow of the capitalist system and the capitalist state.

". . . From the early position, the party has moved further and further toward the right, as did the Labor and Socialist parties of other countries. Today the genuine movements of revolt all too frequently find little in common with these political parties. The New Democratic Party of today is not concerned with overthrowing capitalism—far from it. Rather, it is concerned with making the system work well. . "

The NDP's experience in Nova Scotia, MacEwan comments, shows the inadequacy of this approach.

"If there is little (appreciable) difference between the statements coming from the various political parties, why should one vote for a party which is notably unsuccessful in preference to one which can form the government? There are many people in the New Democratic party today who feel that the party cannot make the major break-through which it seeks, by striving to achieve further 'respectability.' They feel, rather, that the party must reassess its appeal so that the non-political movements of social change, the oppressed and the poverty-stricken, and other important groups can genuinely identify with it. What I would like to see here in Nova Scotia is the New Democratic Party transformed into a mass movement which, like the Poor Peoples' March on Washington, would march on Halifax and sweep all before it."

At the Nov. 8-10 convention, MacEwan was nominated for the party presidency by the newly-elected provincial leader, 26-year-old Jeremy Akerman. However, he failed to be elected.

### **Biggest Convention Ever**

## Ont. NDP Goes Left

by Helen Mack

It was a different convention the 1968 Ontario convention of the New Democratic Party. The pasgivity within the ranks which had marked previous conventions had one. This convention had vitality and challenge; the delegates wanted rhanges!

The smooth imperturbability of the party machine was visibly shaken by this mood, uncertain how to handle unprecedented demands on the chair for democracy within the convention - demands on the resolutions committee that the important resolutions be covered; demands that the placard-waving partisans in the leadership contests not distract the convention from the serious business of policy decision.

Despite the "hoop la" atmosphere generated by these campaigners for "MacDonald the loyal, welltried servant of the party" and "Jim will-to-win" Renwick, the contest turned out to be a Pandora's box it lifted the lid off the box the party has been in almost since its birth. It released sentiments, reflected developments taking place both inside and outside the party which had been felt in the ranks but scarcely articulated save for those socialists grouped around the Socialist Caucus.

The verbal "radicalism" of the leadership contenders, who to the very last never lifted their contest above the level of "style" and "image," was only a dim reflection of the new radical mood among New Democrats. A far more accurate reflection of that mood can be found in the resolutions passed by the 1,325 delegates.

For example, for the first time, the Ontario NDP broke from the provincialism which has traditionally relegated "foreign affairs" that is, the international political

issues that govern all others - to the federal level of the party. On Vietnam the convention almost unanimously demanded that the federal executive and MPs "actively advance" a policy of:

· Withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam;

· An end to Canadian complicity in the Vietnam war, including an end to arms sales to the United States;

· Conversion of the present warlime sector of the Canadian economy by public development of Ontario's resources and the initiation of a public works program.

The convention unanimously approved a resolution calling on the party "publicly to recognize and endorse the recent and continuing struggles of the Czechoslovakian people - students, writers, workers and officials - to democratize their society at all levels, to provide civil liberties, freedom of speech, press and assembly, and to radicalize their socialism towards a greater relevance to human needs, dignity and freedom."

The debates on public ownership and "Canadian independence" expressed the pattern of the entire convention's attitude toward the program. The leadership proposals, insofar as they were presented, were rejected as not radical enough. The resolution that was finally passed committed an NDP government to public ownership of Ontario's natural resources. The resolution did not spell this out to include natural resources industries but when some delegates and the press interpreted it to mean nationalization of land, mines and gas pipelines, party officials did not contradict them.

The debate on the Rand report revealed most clearly the working class character of the New Democratic Party. Speakers did not simply condemn the report's recommendations, but one after the other took the filoor to demand militant action to fight the present impasse the labor movement is in in the fight against injunctions. The resolution which carried, while criticized by many delegates as weak in its condemnation of the report, incorporated the demand for full bargaining rights for all unions and condemned compulsory arbitration and "special repressive legislation."

The resolution on housing declared that an NDP government would assume direct responsibility for the planning, land assembly, construction and maintenance of housing. This public housing would be provided at a cost of not more than 20 percent of the occupant's income.

On education, delegates condemned the present undemocratic, business and industry-geared educational system and supported universal accessibility (free education at all levels), democratization of the high schools and universities, and endorsed those aspects of the Hall-Dennis report which "are in line with the educational aims and philosophy of the party."

Other resolutions demanded that the NDP get into party politics at the municipal level; that the party become an activist party inside and outside the country's legislative bodies, actively supporting and participating in strikes, demonstrations, tenants' unions, student groups; that the sales tax be abolished outright (the executive proposal had merely called for opposition to any "extension" of the sales tax). All these indicate that the convention - the biggest in the history of this, the biggest provincial section of the NDP - had taken a big step forward in the formation of a socialist program for the party.

Many delegates expressed frustration at the lack of alternatives in the whole leadership campaign, and the rigid rules of order and arbitrary and often undemocratic rulings of the convention chairman, Ken Bryden. For the first time ever, the brass's unofficial "slate" was cracked, as the delegates substituted four rank and file activists in the voting for executive members-atlarge - all four of them closely identified with more radical "confrontation" style politics.

Their frustration was also evident in the wide interest in the Socialist Caucus. Lunch-hour meetings - announced from the podium by the convention chairman drew up to 100 delegates, many of them eager to discuss how to strengthen the caucus and thus the party's socialist alternative which the convention had placed on the agenda. Caucus supporters were the most vocal advocates in the debates of the important resolutions to come before the convention.

The 50 or so people who turned up at the Caucus social evening on Saturday insisted on turning it into a meeting to discuss floor strategy the next day, and the broader aims of the Caucus.

Whether the radical resolutions of the convention will be implemented by the majority of the leadership which was returned to office is another question, of course. When re-elected leader Donald MacDonald was heckled in his acceptance speech "What about Vietnam?" he replied with the stock claim of the right wing: "We'll fight the battle of Vietnam at the federal level where it is being fought continuously." A key task in the next period will be to see to it that the leadership respects and responds to the new left-wing currents now spreading through the ranks.



CAMPAIGNING IN BAGOT. Demonstrating supporters of the campaign of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière pass in front of the town hall in St-Pie. Signs call for a labor party, and solidarity with the workers in nearby Windsor, who recently occupied their factories to back strike demands.

### **Endorsed by MIS Leader**

## Que. Socialists Make Big Gains

by John Riddell

The campaign of Michel Mill, socialist candidate in Québec's Bagot by-election against Union Nationale education minister Jean-Guy Cardinal, concluded Dec. 3 as it received the support of Raymond Lemieux, president of the Mouvement pour l'Intégration Scolaire.

"I am completely in agreement with everything there is in Michel Mill's electoral leaflet," Lemieux stated. "I am glad to see someone present our point of view on unilingualism in the election." The MIS, now a province-wide organization, led the recent struggle in St-Léonard for an integrated French-language school system.

Rarely before had the socialist point of view received such an effective and dramatic presentation in a Quebec election. On Nov. 23, over a score of young supporters from Thetford Mines, St-Hyacinthe and Montreal as well as from the riding demonstrated for the socialist candidate on the streets of Acton Vale, the county town, as well as in former premier Daniel Johnson's

home town of St-Pie de Bagot.

The following Friday the campaign sponsored by the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière held the first socialist rally in the history of the county at their campaign head-quarters in Acton Vale. A number of young people from the riding, many of them reluctant supporters of Lévesque's Parti Québécois, attended the meeting.

Campaigners canvassed door-todoor in villages across the county, as well as distributing the LSO-LJS election program at factories in and near the riding. In all, some 5,000 copies of the program were distributed as well as 500 posters reading "Vote Michel Mill, workers' candidate."

The LSO-LJS campaign was a student campaign, planned and carried out largely by the kind of student militants denounced by Cardinal in his first speech in Bagot. Twenty thousand copies of the election program were distributed at colleges and schools outside the rid-

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# VANGUARD

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## National Question Issue in Election

(Continued from page 1)

ing presenting the LSO and LJS program for universal accessibility and student control in the educational system.

Another student candidate ran in Bagot — Micheline Chartrand, sponsored by a grouping in a Montreal college called "Pouvoir Etudiant." Their campaign however limited itself to this one issue of student power, and made no effort to relate it to the other aspects of the schools crisis, or the ensemble of social and national problems confronting the working people of Bagot.

Midway through the campaign, the school crisis burst out anew as Cardinal's government declared its intention of legislating protection of the entrenched rights of the English minority to their own school system. The MIS held militant demonstrations in Montreal and Quebec, protesting the educational policies not only of the two old parties but of Lévesque's Parti Québécois as well.

Socialist candidate Mill, a member of the MIS, argued for a unified French-language school system to halt the progressing Anglicization of the province. Going further, he explained the necessity of getting at the root causes of Quebec's national oppression by nationalizing the foreign monopolies, by replacing the dictatorship of Anglo-American capital with a workers and farmers government.

Cardinal won Dec. 4 as predicted. The socialist vote in Bagot was as expected, very modest: 49 votes out of a total of 11,000. This reflected in part the strength of the old-party machines of patronage and intimi-



Michel Mill

dation, particularly powerful rural Quebec. It also showed on more the huge gap between I militancy of the Quebec work class and its lack of any politic expression — the urgency of builting a Quebec labor party.

The success of the education campaign of the LJS and the LS in Bagot was clear in the participation of dozens of young supports in the campaign, and in the campaign, and in the campaign of half a dozen as Jeunes Socialistes clubs across the province during the election.

Yet the campaign for a lab party, for a workers and farms government, has barely begun to coming year will see municipal to likely provincial elections in Quality which will place new demands the socialist forces to present the socialist forces to present effective alternative. The Bara campaign stands as a challenge we example of what must be done.

# Campaign to Defend Arrested Students

by Ken Hiebert

VANCOUVER, Dec. 6 — The court case of the students facing charges arising from their sit-in at Simon Fraser University has been remanded to Jan. 16-17, when trial dates will be set. in the meantime, they are actively campaigning for their demand that the charges be dropped. Already, important sup-

port has come from the NDP and trade union movement.

The students occupied the administration building at SFU for three days last month to back up their four demands: free transfer between B.C. post-secondary institutions; a parity student-faculty admissions review board; the opening of admissions files to the review

board; and an end to the school construction freeze and increased financing for education. The siting was busted when 250 RCMP officers invaded the campus on Nov. 23 arresting 114 students in the biggest violation of university autonomy in Canadian history.

The week following the arrest was dominated by a debate at SFU over whether or not there should be a strike to back up student demands. Mass meetings of up to 3,000 students discussed the issues Many students who were initially hostile to the occupation were won over in the course of the debate.

Letters taken from administration files during the occupation were a key factor in changing their minds. These letters revealed collaboration between the administration and the security division of the RCMP in investigating students. They also revealed evidence of discrimination in admissions procedures to the university.

Sixty-five percent of the student body — the highest percentage ever — participated in the strike vote on Nov. 29. 1,181 favored strike action, while 2,428 were opposed. Although the activists considered this a defeat, they were encouraged by the fact that close to 1,200 students were willing to risk losing their semester by striking so close to exam time.

With the defeat of the strike vote, the downtown dailies, the Sun and the Province, have opened up a scare campaign against militant students. In stories with headlines like "Militant Few Pull Strings," they are telling the public that gullible students are being manipulated by cynical revolutionaries out to destroy the university.

This has failed to intimidate the students. The Canadian Union of Students has put out a special edition of its paper Issue — "for the people of British Columbia." Over 100,000 copies of this attractive paper are being distributed throughout B.C. It contains a popular explanation of the issues, the history of the struggle, and an exposé of the big business composition of the board of governors, as well as a

B.C. Federation of Labor resolution supporting "students' and teachers' demands for more democracy on the campus." Students are going to trade union meetings explaining their demands and asking for support. The New Democratic Party has provided office space for the defense efforts — an encouraging development, in view of the failure of Robert Strachan, provincial leader of the party, to support the students' struggle.

Although the off-campus support action suffers a certain lack of organization as yet, it is already clear that the Social Credit government has found itself fighting a lot more than 114 "extremist" students.

#### NEXT ISSUE

The Workers Vanguard is taking its annual Christmas holiday. The next issue will be datelined January 13.

#### CONTACT US

to know what socialists are doing in your area

MONTREAL. Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, 17 ouest, rue Ontario, Montréal 18, Qué. 849-1727. OTTAWA. League for Socialist Action, 238 Arlington, Ottawa 4, Ont. 234-3130. TORONTO. League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5, Ont. 922-6665. Young Socialists, 32 Cecil St., Toronto 2B, Ont. 921-4627. HAMILTON. League for Socialist Action, Box 4324, Station D, Hamilton, Ont. EDMONTON. League for Socialist Action, 10402 - 97 St., Edmonton 15, Alta. 433-8791. VANCOUVER. League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville St., Vancouver 2, B.C. 688-5924. Young Socialists, 511 Carrall St., 682-9332.



"As I have repeatedly stated, REASON is the means by which changes will be made within this university."

### #164

## PM Moves to Renew NATO Ties

by John Wilson

With Canada's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization coming up for renewal early next year, rumors and speculations are flying thick and fast about the impending outcome of the Trudeau government's current "review" of foreign policy.

The government is sending up one trial balloon after another to test "public opinion." Postmaster-General Eric Kierans proposes withdrawing Canadian troops from Europe and sending them on a "peacekeeping" mission to Vietnam. (One of the reasons why Canadian troops are in Europe, of course, is precisely to free U.S. troops for use in south-east Asia.) Prime Minister Trudeau recently opined that he is less worried about what is over the Berlin Wall than about Chicago and what might happen in our great cities in Canada" - and raised the specter of civil war in Canada, to be suppressed presumably by contingents withdrawn from NATO. Other cabinet ministers, led by External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp, are publicly raising the question of a turn toward the Organization of American States, at the same time stressing the government's underlying commitment to the North Atlantic alliance.

The real "review" of defense committments, however, insofar as there are any serious tactical differences within the government, is being conducted behind closed doors in Ottawa, with consultation limited to top civil servants, military officials and selected academic figures. But even this highly restricted and specialized group is hardly likely to propose any major change in present government policy. It is already abundantly clear that the Trudeau regime has no intention of abandoning its commitment to the military strategies of world imperialism.

Most revealing was what happened at the recent NATO ministerial conference in Brussels. Among the intriguing ideas bruited around at this meeting which was designed to whip up pro-NATO hysteria over the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia was a U.S. proposal to stage "demonstrative" nuclear weapons explosions in a West

European country, to show the East Europeans how intransigeant NATO is.

While government spokesmen back home were talking up a "reorientation" of Canadian policy away from NATO, the government quietly assured its allies in Brussels that planned reductions in Canada's European forces, including a 20 percent cut in its nuclear-armed air contribution, had been ruled out. Moreover, the government has reinstated its program to modernize four destroyer escort vessels at a cost of \$65 million; the brigade group in West Germany is being provided with about 65 new reconnaissance vehicles; and four helicopter-equipped destroyers and two operational support ships are being built at high priority.

While the Trudeau government may have minor differences with its NATO cronies on the relative "usefulness" of this or that commitment, and may wish to cut defense spending here and there, there are other considerations. As the Financial Post noted: "Canadian officials left Brussels deeply impressed by the

trade and diplomatic rows that will erupt if Canada pulls out. . . Defense-sharing orders from the U.S. provide jobs for many Canadians."

This is no doubt what Trudeau was thinking about when he told the House of Commons that "Canada continues to believe in collec-

tive security."

The public debate over NATO, limited as it is, comes at a time when Canada's traditional membership in U.S.-dominated alliances is being questioned more than ever before. Even former prime minister Lester Pearson has got into the act. NATO has always been fobbed off on us with the myth of "commun-ist aggression," which the Trudeau government and its allies are trying to resurrect over the Kremlin's invasion of Czechoslovakia. Yet in his BBC Reith lectures, Pearson, who was one of the prime architects and defenders of NATO, completely undercuts this. He says he now doubts that Soviet military strategy is "more offensive than defensive" and admits that Czechoslovakians "would have been better

(See page 7)

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## ... Debate on NATO

(Continued from page 1) and stronger allies of Russia as a

free socialist democracy."

NATO of course has nothing to do with the defense of democracy. NATO arms are essential to fascist Portugal's brutal attempts to suppress the liberation forces in its African colonies. The murderers who head the military dictatorship in Greece find no difficulty in remaining political bedmates with the "democrats" in NATO. France used NATO arms to fight the Algerian revolution; and only recently, it was from a NATO base in West Germany that de Gaulle prepared to rally his forces to beat back the revolutionary upsurge of the French workers and students.

There is no doubt that if appraised of these considerations — as they would be in any serious public "review" of this country's defense policies — the Canadian people would demand immediate withdrawal from this aggressive alliance, which is an enemy of peace and social progress the world over.

But this view finds no reflection in parliament, where the question is due for debate soon. Tory leader Robert Stanfield says he thinks Canadians should "be prepared to remain in NATO" short of an "East-West détente." The New Democratic Party, which should be expected to play the leading role in opposing NATO, is committed by convention resolution to withdrawal



Andrew Brewin

from NATO, on the grounds that it is a "nuclear-armed alliance." But NDP defense critic Andrew Brewin went out of his way to assure the government that the parliamentary caucus was not arguing against membership in NATO. The NDP, Brewin claimed, agreed to "the need for mobile defenses" in Europe, and was only critical of NATO's "dependence on a useless and obsolete type of defense."

In contrast, the correct position was expressed by the B.C. Federation of Labor which at its convention last month passed a resolution calling for withdrawal from NATO.

## Join the International Socialist Youth Movement!

Come to Canada's first

# Socialist Students Conference Toronto Dec. 27-29

featuring

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- movement, the student revolutionary press.
- student speakers including Peter Warrian, Stephen Langdon, and Michel Mill.
- a film on the May-June revolt in France.
- a big party with a top rock band.
- lots of time for discussion, etc. . .

Registration begins at 7 p.m. Dec. 26 at Hart House, University of Toronto

for further information, contact the Young Socialist club in your area, or write:

Young Socialists, 32 Cecil St., Toronto 2B, Ont. The Vanguard Forum is the oldest year-round free speech forum in Toronto. It has been meeting every Friday night for well over a decade.

Its aim is to promote a vital and free exchange of ideas between speakers and audience. Following the contribution of the speaker the audience is given the floor for queries and comments of their own. With the closing of the formal part of the meeting refreshments are served and the discussion continues on a more intimate basis.

Programs vary from a talk by an individual authority to symposiums or round-tables offering views and debates between conflicting positions. While many contributors voice radical and socialist opinions, other points of view are welcomed. Controversy is encouraged. On occasions films have been shown. They have included: Ten Days that Shook the World, Judgment at Nuremberg, and Paths of Glory.

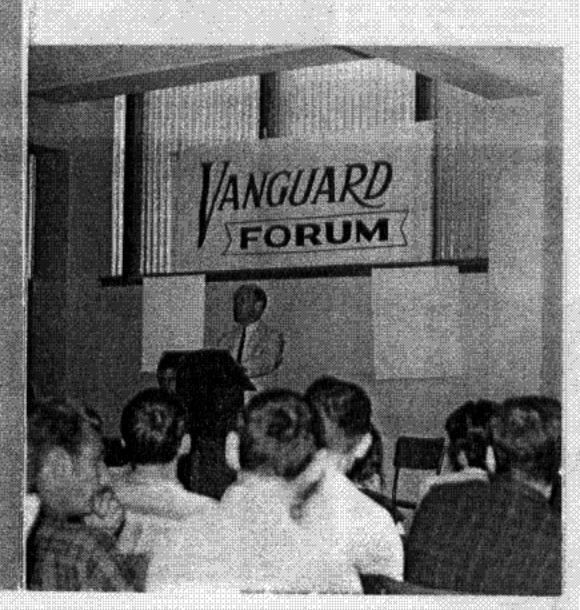
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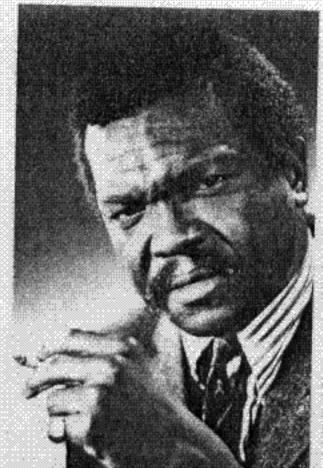
promoting a free exchange of views on the major issues of the day





GLURGE NOVACK

the eminent U.S. socialist scholar, spoke on Problems of Alienation in a Modern Society. He is the author of Marxism vs. Existentionalism, the Origins of Materialism, and collaborated with Isaac Deutscher on The Age of Permanent Revolution: A Trotsky Anthology.



#### AUSTIN CLARKE

one of Canada's best known novelists, spoke on Literature and Commitment. Mr. Clarke was an associate of the late Malcolm X and is presently working on a book on the Black Power struggle. His recent novel, The Meeting Point, has been widely acclaimed.



#### JAN CAREW

contributed a talk on Neo - Colonialism and Guyana. He brought not only a profound insight into Guyana (he is considered by many to be its most talented novelist), but also his experience as an economist under the Nkrumah regime in Ghana.

# $recent\ contributors\ to\ the\ success\ of\ the\ Vanguard\ Forum$



HANS BLUMENFELD

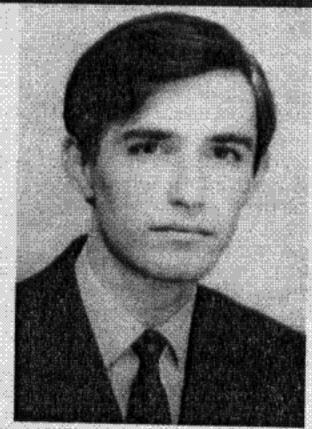
is a consultant to the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board and a lecturer at the University of Toronto. He spoke on Town Planning, a field in which he is a recognized international authority. His book, The Modern Metropolis, has just been published.

### Pierre Maheu

Alfred Dubuc

Michel Mill

Developments in Quebec have been extensively dealt with at the forum. Among the contributors have been Pierre Maheu, prominent in the Mouvement Laic de Langue Français (MLF) and the magazine Parti Pris; the economist Alfred Dubuc of the faculty of Social Sciences, Université de Montréal; and Michel Mill, a frequent contributor to Montréal's Forum Socialiste.



### KEN WARREN

executive secretary of the Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal spoke on the aims and objectives of this project inspired by Bertrand Russell. Mr. Warren is also on the editorial board of the Canada/Vietnam Newsletter.